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ON THE PRACTICE OF SCAPULIMANCY AMONG THE MONGOLS*

by

C. R. BAWDEN

University of London

From the number of texts on the subject which are to be found in European collections of Mongol literature alone, divination, the addiction to astrological calculations and the observance of omens of all sorts seem to have played, and perhaps still to play, an important role in everyday life among the Mongols. From literary evidence, these various practices would seem to be susceptible of covering every aspect and activity of daily life, though it is doubtful to what extent all the manifold prescriptions and prohibitions listed in a single popular handbook, *Eldeb kereg-tü qas qaγurčaγ nere-tü bičig*[1] for instance, can actually have been observed. Taken together they would tend to make ordinary life quite impossible to lead, and perhaps we should conclude that they constitute a body of information from which individual items might be drawn as needed for the most important events of life as, for example, marriage. That all the prescriptions concerning the days when the various parts of a house may be built, wells and channels dug, mills constructed, journeys by water undertaken and so on were conscientiously observed is difficult to credit. In the same printed text one finds also that all sorts of natural and personal phenomena are classed as omens – clouds, wind, sun, rainbow, lightning and so on may all have significance, as may the twitching of the eyes, burning of the ears, beating of the heart, howling of dogs, twittering of sparrows, croaking of crows and so on.[2] It is difficult to estimate just

* For kindly permitting me to reproduce pages from a manuscript in the Grønbech collection of Mongol manuscripts, I am most grateful to the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

[1] W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1954), no. 218.

[2] For divination from the behaviour of birds and beasts see also P. S. Pallas, *Sammlungen Historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*, Vol. II (St.

how far the Mongols have been subject to such superstitious practices. Pallas severely criticises the priests of the Mongols for having introduced and supported so many superstitions, some of them already indigenous, in order to keep the people subordinate to themselves. They have, he says, "in this way so fettered the poor people that they have to take refuge in their priestlings and make offerings to them for every unusual happening in everyday life".[3] In almost the same words does X. Namsraiew, a modern Buriat novelist, describe the state of a little group of Buriat peasants: "Apart from the fact that they were worshippers of both religions, ignorance and coarseness grew ever more powerful and consolidated itself among them. They were oppressed by manifest and secret devils and corpses, by Buddhas and gods, the lords of cliffs and mountains, the spirits of the waters, evil omens, good auguries, and all sorts of such ignorant superstitions. And beyond that there were a terrible lot of seers and wise men and quack-doctors and such like lamas and shamans who would terrorize them and rob and plunder them of gold and silver, beasts and all sorts of possessions by every kind of trick and artifice."[4] That superstitious practices were very wide-spread up to a quite recent date and perhaps still are in Inner Mongolia at least is evident from the existence of some forty or more manuscripts on divination and astrology, collected in the years 1938–1939, which form part of the Grønbech collection of Mongol literature in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Most of these manuscripts appear to be recent copies and they frequently bear unmistakeable signs of hard use. Many of the prescriptions and prohibitions and much of the astrological information occur in substantially the same form in more than one manuscript, pointing to a fairly homogeneous body of lore. It even happens that a copy may be so badly made as to

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Petersburg, 1801), pp. 312–321; Laufer, "Bird Divination among the Tibetans", *T'oung Pao*, XV (1914), pp. 1–110; and Ligeti, "La Collection Mongole Schilling von Canstadt", *ibid.*, XXVII (1930), p. 172. A text on divination from the behaviour of horses is mentioned by Heissig, "The Mongol Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Belgian Scheut Mission", *CAJ*, III/3, p. 178, for which see also *Altan Tobči* (ed. Bawden, *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 5), sections 76 and 77. An account of divination from the behaviour of the crow is to be found in a manuscript of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, entitled *Grag üre nomlal bui*, section commencing folio 3r/6: *töbed-ün qayan-u keriye-ü kelen medeküi-yin tulada.*

[3] P. S. Pallas, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[4] X. Namsraiew, *Xar Tsarait* (*Qara Čirayi-tu*), published by Öwör Mongγolyn Ardyn Xewleliin Xoroo (Öbör Mongγol Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriya) (Köke Qota, 1956), as a translation from the Buriat (this publication is in both the old Mongol script and the Cyrillic script now being introduced in Inner Mongolia). The original text may be found in *Buryat-Mongol Literatura*, a school chrestomathy published in Ulan Üde, 1954 (p. 161). I have not traced the date of the story. Namsraiew was born in 1889.

be unusable. Thus the three diagrams which occur at the beginning of the second volume of *Qas Qaγurčaγ* occur in one copy so badly drawn that the numbers around the circumference, upon which the prognostications depend, are replaced by conventional circles. This is an exceptional example of degeneracy but should not be ignored.

Divination among the Mongols as it can be formulated from the available texts falls into two groups – practices dependent upon astrological considerations and those not so dependent. The second category can be itself subdivided into two groups – involuntary divination or the observance of naturally occurring omens, and voluntary divination through deliberate taking of auspices. Into the former group fall such methods of prognostication as the interpretation of the cries of birds which have been mentioned above. Into the latter fall such popular methods of deliberate foreknowing as the use of dice (the faces numbered either from one to six or with the six syllables of the *om mani* formula), the tossing of coins (which may be linked with the use of the sixty-four hexagrams) and so on. Into this category falls the practice of scapulimancy, the subject of this essay. While many divinatory practices appear to have a foreign, usually Chinese, origin (the *Qas Qaγurčaγ* is itself largely based upon Chinese originals), scapulimancy dates from high antiquity and is common to many peoples of Eurasia.

The practice of scapulimancy, that is of divination through the appearance of the shoulder-blade of an animal, which may or may not have been subjected to scorching, is among the most ancient methods of fortune-telling in Eurasia and among the most widespread. Oracle bones were in use in the China of the Shang-Yin dynasty and the practise has persisted in Mongolia up to very recently and probably does still obtain. Methods of using bones for fortune-telling are recorded from areas as far removed culturally and geographically from early China as Greece[5] and Scotland. From the considerable literature concerning the practice in general the survey by Richard Andree may be especially mentioned.[6] Andree was of the opinion that the origin of scapulimancy is to be looked for among the Mongol peoples of Inner Asia and he adduces the prohibition of the use of iron knives by some peoples in the process of cleaning the flesh off the bones as evidence that we have to do with a practice which looks back to the stone age for its beginnings. Scapuli-

[5] For the practice of scapulimancy in Greece in recent times see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, (Paris, undated), vol XIV, p. 722.

[6] Richard Andree, "Scapulimantia", in *Boas Anniversary Volume, Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas* (New York, 1906), pp. 143–165.

mancy among the Goldi people of the lower Sungari River has been dealt with in detail by Johnson Ling[7] and a detailed account of scapulimancy among the Mongols is given by Pallas,[8] who reports incidentally that the Mongols would not gnaw a bone which was so to be used, but would scrape the flesh away carefully with a knife. Pallas was able to consult with experienced fortune-tellers about the meaning of the various cracks produced by scorching and to give his results in diagrammatic form. His account has been adapted into English by W. W. Rockhill in his book *The Land of the Lamas*. Ling quotes passages from several Chinese accounts of the barbarian peoples bordering upon China which mention and describe soothsaying by means of the shoulder blade, among them a passage from the chapter on the Hsi-hsia in the *Liao-shih* where the burning of the sheep's scapula in particular, using artemisia, is recorded. The Kitans also made use of the practise and it is mentioned as current among the Mongols in both *Hei-ta shih-lüeh* and *Meng-ta pei-lu*.[9] Commenting on the passage in the latter text Wang Kuo-wei refers also to the "spirit-way stele" of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai.[10] According to this account, before setting out on a campaign, Genghis Kan would have Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai perform divination concerning the success or failure of the expedition and the Emperor would also have the pelvic bone of a sheep scorched and use it as an amulet. On the European side, an account is given by William of Rubruck who tells how he saw charred sheep's shoulder-blades being carried out of the dwelling of the Khan Mangu. He learned that "the Chan does nothing in the world without consulting these bones". According to Rubruck's account the Khan would have three bones burned at a time. Only the simplest of prophecies seems to have been obtainable from this method. The Khan examined them "to see if with the heat of the fire they have split lengthwise in a straight line. If they have, the way is clear for him to act; if, however, the bones have cracked horizontally or round bits have shot out, then he does not do it."[11] The standards observed by the Goldi as recorded by Ling seem to be as elementary, the appearance of two "tongues" being a good sign, that of one or none a bad sign; if the two are close there will be less delay than if they are widely

[7] Johnson Ling, *The Goldi Tribe on the Lower Sungari River*, (= *Academia Sinica, The National Research Institute of History and Philology Monographs Series*, A No. 14) (Nanking, 1934).

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 350–354 and plate 20.

[9] Text of both in Wang Kuo-wei's collected works, *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an Hsien-sheng I-shu*, volume 37.

[10] Text also in *Yüan Wen Lei*, chapter 57.

[11] *The Mongol Mission* (Sheed and Ward, London, 1955), p. 164.

separated.[12] As will appear later, the modern, more sophisticated Mongol diviner has a much greater range of pronouncements at his disposal and is permitted an almost unlimited degree of personal interpretation, though the basic "principles" mentioned by Rubruck seem to underly his casuistry. European books from the time of Rubruck onwards frequently mention the practice of scapulimancy. In recent times it is recorded as existing among the Tibetans and Sherpas by Nebesky-Wojkowitz[13] while an interesting photograph is given by W. Bosshard.[14]

Among the manuscripts on divination and astrology in the Grønbech Collection are two devoted to scapulimancy. Though undated they appear to be of fairly recent origin and have clearly been frequently used at the hands of the itinerant soothsayer from whom Professor Kaare Grønbech acquired them in 1938 on the second Central Asiatic Expedition of the Royal Danish Geographical Society. They are in fact manuals of divination which were in use in Inner Mongolia only twenty years ago. Through the kindness of the late Professor Grønbech, who had hoped to publicize these manuscripts himself, and of Magister Leo Buschardt of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, I was able to obtain photostats of both manuscripts and the results of an examination of them form the subject of the present article. Both manuscripts are illustrated with drawings of shoulder-blades, showing a rich selection of the rifts and markings which may appear, and suggesting interpretations. They also prescribe the way in which the bone is to be prepared for burning and the manner in which the ceremony is to be carried out, and give hints as to what may be learned about the original appearance of the sheep from which the bone was taken and of the character of the owner through examination of the shape, structure and colour of the bone before it is scorched.

Of the two texts that which I call A is entitled *Dalu-yi sinǰikü üǰikü tülükü sudur orusibai*: "Canon for the investigation, examination and burning of shoulder-blades". (This is the text title. The cover title has become unclear through heavy use of the book and appears to read *Dalu-yi üǰikü? tülükü sudur orusiba.*) This manuscript is in the form of a Chinese double-leaf book of five folios of Chinese hand-made paper measuring 30 by 17.5 cm. A short introduction describes the method of procedure and there follow eight diagrams showing cracks produced on shoulder blades. Each crack is numbered and eight key sections give very

[12] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 137.
[13] *Where the Gods are Mountains* (London, 1956), p. 154, and *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (London and 's-Gravenhage, 1956), p. 455.
[14] *Kühles Grasland Mongolei* (Berlin, 1938).

short, sometimes cryptic, clues to the significance of the crack. Remarks such as *sayin*, "good"; *mayu*, "bad"; *olǰa türgen*, "profit speedy"; *olǰa dumda*, "profit middling quick"; *olǰa udayan*, "profit with delay"; *yarusi yeke*, "losses great"; *emči tusalaqu*, "a doctor will help", predominate. The text closes with a paragraph on the examination of the unscorched blades as mentioned above. The longer manuscript, here called B, is also in the form of a Chinese double-leaf book on similar paper, measuring 21 by 11.5 cm. and consisting of twenty-nine folios and cover-folios at each end. The title is *Dalu-u üǰilge orusibai*: "Examination of shoulder-blades". The last seven folios of the manuscript are occupied by a separate text entitled *Ebüged-ün amin-u dalun-u üǰilge*: "Examination of shoulder-blades for the life of old men". These two texts will be referred to respectively as B 1 and B 2. The sixth folio of B 2 has been badly damaged, all the verso side and half the recto side being torn away and lost. The seventh folio duplicates the text of a folio of B 1. It is the text B 1 which will be examined in particular in the present article. It is more comprehensive than the other two texts, containing twelve folios (probably originally thirteen) of advice for the performance of the ceremony of divination, followed by eleven diagrams with very full explanations, and a colophon. Unfortunately the beginning of the book has been damaged as well as the end. There was probably originally at least one more folio, a surviving fragment of which has been pasted on the inside of the front cover. The ductus of both manuscripts is fluent and generally clear, though occasionally a word or phrase cannot be read owing either to wear or my inability to decipher the calligraphy. Sometimes a word which is in fact present has failed to appear on the photographs I have used, being hidden inside the binding. For patiently searching out some of these words I am most grateful to Mr. Klaus Sagaster of the University of Bonn.

THE CEREMONY OF DIVINATION BY SCAPULIMANCY.

The beginning of text B 1 is tantalisingly fragmentary. Most of the recto side of the surviving folio 2 (counting the front cover as folio 1 for convenience) is missing, but the purport of its text can be pretty well constructed from text A. The fragment pasted on the inside of the front cover seems, by comparison with A to have directly preceded folio 2r. and thus to be the bottom half of a verso side (probably the original folio 1). This folio *1 is not paralleled in A except for its last two lines. It seems to have given some information about the respective uses of left-

and right-hand shoulder-blades. (When looked at with the spine side facing the viewer and the broad edge upwards a blade appears unequally divided by the spine. If the area of larger surface is to the viewer's left the blade is a right-hand one and a mirror image of this is presented by a left-hand blade.) Blades of each type are illustrated in A and B 1 while the diagrams of B 2 which are comparatively crude seem to give exclusively left-hand blades.

The text of the pasted fragment and of folio 2r of B 1 reads:

...ilγal-tai-nuγud-i ǰegün dalu-bar
...-yi baraγun ǰegün ali oldaγsan
...(?ey)imü bol(?basu) buǰarlaγsan terigüten
...(?en)degürel-tei bolqu tula čegerle:
...(?qon)in-u dalu-bar ǰisü-yi medesüg(ei)
...boro büged tosu-tai bolbasu /2r/
...qara öyüke-tei qonin-u dalu bui
...bolbasu sira...-tai ba niruγun

Except for a letter or two nothing remains of the other four lines of folio 2r.

As far as one may dare attempt a translation of these fragments the first four lines may be said to mean:

"...those with distinction of ...by means of the left-hand shoulder blade..."
"...finding either right or left..."
"...if it is so...having been defiled etc...."
"...since...is erroneous, desist."

The remainder may be constructed from A folio 5r which runs in translation:

"Investigating the appearance of the five sorts of sheep: If it is (i.e. the blade) grey and fatty, then it was a black bellied sheep flecked with black on the forehead. If it is white with little fat it was a sheep with a yellow head and red spine. If it is blue with many vein marks it was one with a blue-grey head and red body. If it is ash-colour it (i.e. the sheep) had a blue head-fleck. If it is very thin it was a mixed grizzly sheep."[15]

Text B 1 folio 2v. now continues:

"If apart from these five classes there should be any other, then it is the

[15] *Tabun ǰüil qonin-u ǰisü sinǰikü anu: boro büged tosu-tai bolbal, qalǰin alaγ toluγai-tai, qara üyes-* (for *öyüke*)*-tei qoni bui. Čaγan büged tosun baγa bolbala, sira toluγai-tai ulaγan niruγu-tai qoni bui. Köke büged sudasun ǰiruγ olan bolbala, köke boro toluγai-tai ulaγan beye-tei. Ünesün öngge-tei bolbala, köke qalǰin bui. Masi nimegen bolbala, čirleng* (see Dictionnaire Ordos p. 708b) *buγural qoni bui.*

shoulder blade of a white sheep. By these means it is said, one learns the appearance of the sheep."[16] The utility of this process is not explained and does not become apparent.

The characteristics of the owner of the sheep can also be discovered from the appearance of the unscorched shoulder blade:

"Further, should you intend to investigate the owner of the sheep: If the thin 'mirror' (i.e. the large flat area of the blade) within the shoulder-blade is broad, and if it is a rich and pretty shoulder-blade with thinness and thickness balanced crosswise and lengthwise, then the owner of that sheep is rich in goods and beasts and a good man. If it is short and the mirror is cramped, then the owner is ill-favoured and an unhappy man. If it is a thick blade of great width the owner is moderately rich in goods and beasts and is a miserly and stingy man. If the mirror inside is broad the owner is a man of intellect and sagacious. If it is narrow and long the owner is crooked and a man of evil ways. If it is a thin and hard shoulder-blade then the owner is a liar and a deceitful man. One makes an examination through comparison and transposition according to these (examples). For example, there may be the signs of the first, rich and pretty shoulder-blade, but if the mirror is cramped you will learn that while (the owner) is rich he is stupid, and so on, and you must make your investigations with reference to your knowledge. These are the means by which one learns about the owner of the sheep."[17]

The text of A, folio 5, is almost identical with that of B. (For *bolbasu* there are subsituted the more colloquial forms *bolbal*, *bolbala*.) The explanations here offered all show a very simple association between the nature of the object of divination and of the subject for whom the divination is carried out. The symbolism is elementary and direct, as was that of the divination quoted by Rubruck.[18] Further, as will be seen

[16] *Edeger tabun jüil-eče öbere bolbasu čaγan qonin-u dalu büged edeger qonin-u jisü-yi medekü kemedeg bui.*

[17] *Basa qonin-u eǰen-i sinǰilesügei kemebesü, dalun-u dotoraki nimegen tolin inu aγudam boluγad köndelen γoldu ǰuǰaγan nimegen inu tengčigsen elbeg sayiqan dalu bolbasu tere qonin-u eǰen inu ed mal-iyar bayan büged sayin kümün bui.* /3r/ *Boγoni büged toli inu čiqul bolbasu tegün-ü eǰen anu kesig baγa meküs kümün bui. Örgen anu yeke büged ǰuǰa-γan dalu bolbasu tegün-ü eǰen anu ed mal dumda kiri büged qaramči narin kümün bui. Dotoraki dalu anu örgen bolbasu tegün-ü eǰen uqaγa-tai čečen kümün bui. Narin urtu bolbasu eǰen anu qaǰaγai maγu yabudal-tai kümün bui. Nimegen qataγu* /3v/ *dalu bolbasu eǰen anu qudalči qaγurmaγči kümün bui. Edeger-iyer jisijü ergigülün sinǰilekü büged, üligerlebesü elbeg sayiqan angqan-u dalu-yin temdeg bui bolbaču toli inu čiqul bolbasu bayan bügetele teneg kemen medekü terigüten-i uqaγan-iyar sinǰilegdekü̈i. Edeger-iyer qonin-u eǰen-i medekü kemedeg bolai.*

[18] This type of symbolism is well characterised by J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Pelican Books, 1955), p. 204: "From the causal point of view, symbolism

again in later paragraphs, considerable scope is left to the skill of the practitioner, who has to interpret what he sees in the light of his own knowlege and experience.

Text B now proceeds to the actual ceremony.

"Now, at the start, wash the shoulder-blade in water which has been made white with milk and purify it by smoking it with juniper and incense and so on. Take the shoulder-blade in the right hand. Press the mirror to your mouth and recite the Ye dharmā formula. Make an incantation for the signs of whatever matter it may be that you are investigating to appear clearly. The form of making the incantation is as follows: 'I pray to the unsleeping refuge, the three jewels of the lamas; I pray to the tutelary deities and the Protectors of the Faith. I pray to the protective genii and to the lords of the earth. Deign to make the signs of this shoulder-blade come out clearly. Ōm ye dharma hitu bra bhaba hetunti ṣan taṭa gatō haya va dad te ṣam(i)ča yō niroda evam vadi maqa siramana ye qun ha' – recite this spell seven or three times. If you are making an examination with a general intention then act by reciting in prayer the nature of the matter, speaking quietly and saying in effect: 'Deign to indicate clearly whatever there is of good or evil for myself, so and so by name, and for my people and beasts.' If you wish to examine a particular circumstance, then make an incantation with adjustments according to your knowledge, saying: 'Deign to show clearly how such and such a matter will stand, which I have undertaken' or 'how it will be with this sickness and what is the most efficacious *gürüm*' or 'when such and such a man, who has gone to a far country, will arrive and whether he will arrive safely' and so forth. Finally, when the fire is not very great and is without smoke, burn (the bone) in the pure fire. Do not let any outsiders come in until the burning is completed. Refrain from smoking tobacco at the fire and from other impurities."[19]

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appears as a sort of short-circuit of thought. Instead of looking for the relation between two things by following the hidden detours of their causal connexions, thought makes a leap and discovers their relation, not in a connexion of cause or effects, but in a connexion of signification or finality." Belief in such symbolical truth applied to practical affairs appears to underly the exercise of sympathetic magic. Cf. for example the practice of "squeezing the wolf's mouth" (*ćino-a-yin aman boγoqu*) described by B. Rintchen in a paper entitled *Mélanges Ethnographiques*: *Xara dom – les superstitions chamanistes des Mongols et des Kazakh de la Mongolie Septentrionale* (offprint, source not stated); if cattle are left out at pasture overnight, the people take a pair of scissors, squeeze a stone between like a gag, tie the scissors and put them in the south west corner of the yurt between the felt and the roof-pole in order to squeeze the wolf's mouth. In the morning they untie the scissors to free the beast from its sufferings.

[19] *Tegün-e angqan-dur sün-iyer čayilaγsan usu-bar dalu-yi ugiya,* /4r/ *arča küji terigüten-*

The directions given in A are very similar. After an initial appeal for pity to the tutelary deities and the three jewels of the lamas, and an act of adoration towards Padma Sambhava (whose name is constantly mentioned in connection with astrological and divinatory practises) the text continues: "As for the methods of effecting the incantation of the lots called 'The thin white shoulder-blade in the form of the earthly continent', there are many of these, but make the incantation according to the extent of your knowledge. Apart from the necessity for purity, without profanity or filth, if you recite the Ye dharmā (text given) seven times, anoint (the blade) with milk, wash it with water, purify it with juniper and then burn it, it will in truth be very clear."[20] From now on A offers no more general remarks or directions.

The material of the sheep's shoulder-blade is sufficiently thin for cracks to be produced when it is laid on a fire. Ling points out that where shoulder-blades of animals such as pig, sheep and roebuck are used there is no need to resort to boring a hole to facilitate the start of the cracking as the Chinese appear to have done.[21] The Goldi, like the Mongols, proceed by laying the bone upon the fire, not by placing hot substances upon the bone, a practice known to the Chuckchee, Lamut and Koryak.[22] Both

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iyer utuǰu ariγula. Baraγun γar-iyar dalun-i bariγad, toli-yi anu aman-daγan siqaγulǰu, ye dharma-yin tarni-yi ori. Ali kereg-yi sinǰilekü bügesü tegün-ü temdeg todorqai γarqu-yi sibsigdekü. Sibsikü yosun anu: umtuγa ügei abural blama γurban erdeni-dür ǰalbaramui. Yidam nom-un sakiγulsud-tur ǰalbaramui. Ibegegči /4v/ *sülde tngri delekei eǰed-tür ǰalbiramui. Ene dalun-u temdeg-yi todorqai bolγan soyorqa.* (Here follows the ye dharma spell as transcribed above) *ene tarni-yi dolon-a buyu-uu γurbanta ungsi. Yerü-yin tula üǰekü bolbasu eyimü nere-tü kümün-ü beye ba kümün* /5r/ *mal-dur sayin maγu yambar ǰüil-i todorqai ǰiγaǰu öggün soyorqa, kemekü metü kereg učir-yi sem-iyer ügüleǰü ǰalbaran üiled tusqayi-tu učir-i üǰekü bolbasu, ǰoriγsan eyimü kereg yambar bolqu-yi todorqai üǰegülün soyorqa, kemekü ba ene ebečin yambar bolqu ba, ali tusa-tai gürüm-i kemekü ba qola γaǰar yabuγsan eyimü kümün keǰiye irekü ba amur sayin-i* /5v/ *todorqai üǰegül kemekü terigüten-i uqaγan-iyar ǰisiǰü sibsigdekü. Tegün-ü segül-dür γal asuru yeke busu kiri-tei büged utaγa ügei, čeber γal-dur tüle. Tüleǰü tegüstele γadana-yin kümün-i buu oroγul. Γal-dur tamaki nočoγoqu terigüten buǰar-i čegerlegdekü.* The correct text of the *Ye Dharmā* formula is given by Richardson in *JRAS*, 1954, p. 166: *Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā teṣāṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato hyavadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī Mahāśramaṇaḥ.* For *gürüm* (Tib. *sku-rim*) cf. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, p. 279a: "service religieux fait par les lamas pour détourner un malheur".

[20] *Čambudib-un keb-tür nimegen čaγan dalu kemegči-yin tölge-yi sibsikü bütükü-yin yosun anu masi olan bolbaču uqaγan-u kiri-ber daγul(d)an sibsimü. Buǰar burtuγ ügei ariγun-i kereglekü-eče γadana ōm yidarma... šramanaya suwa-a kemen 7-ta ungsiǰu sün sürčiǰü usun-iyar ugiyan arči-iyar ariγulan tülebesü maγad masi todorqai bui.*

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

texts insist upon the use of juniper-wood to purify the bone. The ritual importance of juniper-wood smoke is mentioned in a number of recent publications concerning not only the Mongols but other central Asiatic peoples.[23] (The juniper tree is known as the Father of Trees. In the ideal construction of an obo the wishing-tree, Kalpavrikṣa, is represented by the placing on top of the obo the following trees: the juniper, father of trees; the reed, the mother; the tamarisk, the son; the rooted birch, the uncle; and the willow, the daughter.[24]

Certain prognostications may be made on the basis of the behaviour of the bone in the fire, before its cracks are examined, and in accordance with these certain ritual actions should be performed. Though scapulimancy is evidently not a specifically Buddhist practise, for it obtains outside the geographical and chronological scope of Buddhism, it can be seen from the type of ceremony and recitation enjoined to what an extent it has (in common with other folk-practices) become permeated with the terminology of Buddhist worship.

"The signs of the shoulder-blade are: If a noise of crackling occurs while it is in the fire, this is a sign that demons and evil spirits are about; therefore recite the *Doγsid* (fierce divinities) and perform the general remedies. If a noise *tes tes* occurs, this is a sign that there will be disputes and discords in the house, and is a sign of quarrels. Therefore recite *Čaγan sikürtei* a hundred times and instal a *düǰür*.[25] If as soon as it has burst into flames the upper corner of the Nose (i.e. the spine of the blade)

[23] For example, Mostaert, "Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos", *CAJ*, II/4, pp. 274, 290, 293; Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Where the Gods are Mountains*, pp. 107 ("The Tibetans had lined the route taken by the procession (i.e. of the Dalai Lama) with pans containing burning juniper branches") and 218; and Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons*, p. 433.

[24] Xylograph text *Oboγa bosqaqu yosun-u ǰerge* folio 4r. (Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 162, vol. 4, item 16).

[25] Identification uncertain. The installation of a *düǰür* is enjoined a number of times in the following text, where it is a case of averting evil influences. For example, folio 19r: *töbeg γarumui, čaγan sikürtei badsar* (*bidarana*)... *ungsi düǰür ǰala*, "trouble will occur. Recite *čaγan sikürtei* and *Badsar bidarana* and instal a *düǰür*" or 20v; *kelen aman-u qoorlal bui. Čaγan sikürtei... doγsid mingγa... baling düǰür kelen aman-u ǰasal ki*, "there will be evil from quarrels. *Čaγan sikürtei*... and *Batsar bidarana* a thousand times, and make *baling* (*gtor-ma*), *düǰür* and the remedies for quarrels". It seems unlikely that the first element *dü-* will equal Tib. *mdos*, "a thread-cross" as this object is referred to independently once as *dui* (folio 19v) and once as *tonglai* (folio 20v). I would suggest that the term *düǰür* may have some connection with the process of "barring the demons" (cf. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 484–488) and may refer to a ceremony such as that entitled *bdud-kyi zhal bsgyur-ba* (*Oracles and Demons*, p. 392).

falls away, there will be evil influences, but if you perform a *gürüm* it is a sign of pacification."[26]

The text then proceeds to a general consideration of the cracks which may have been produced by the burning. First the topography of the shoulder-blade is described and the nomenclature laid down. The five "areas" (*γaǰar*) which occupy the centre of the blade from top to bottom are listed (see Plate I) together with five other areas, those of "enemy", "heaven", "dragons", "protection" and "the departed". The locations of these areas, which surround the blade on all sides, are described and illustrated later (Plate I), though description and diagram do not tally. The description appears to be incorrect, as it omits "protection" and puts "the departed" where "protection" occurs in the illustration. It is interesting to compare with this the seventh diagram of A which refers to these five surrounding areas as *oboγa* or obos. The nomenclature of A is also slightly different, though the purport is the same; the five surrounding areas are entitled respectively "enemy's obo", "heaven's obo", "dragon's obo", "Buddha's obo" and "Erlig's obo".[27] B 2 shows a different arrangement. In a diagram of a left-hand blade, which should present a mirror image of a right-hand blade, the "dragon's obo" is located at the junction of spine and top edge (the space labelled "area of heaven" in B 1), the "enemy's obo" occupies the space devoted by B 1 to "area of dragons", its own place being taken by "Erlig's obo" and the name *amin-u oboγa*, "obo of life" is applied to the site from which "Erlig's obo" has been displaced. Only four obos are marked, no notation being applied to the tip of the spine (A, "Buddha's obo"; B 1 "area of protection").

The topographical description in B 1 runs:

"After taking it out of the fire, when you are making your investigation, a

[26] *Dalun-u temdeg inu γal-un dotora bayiqui-dur dürǰiginekü-yin daγun γarbasu ada* /6r/ *ǰedker ergičekü-yin temdeg tula doγsid ungsiǰu yerü-yin ǰasal ki. Tes tes kemekü daγun γarbasu ger-ün dotora keregür qarsilal bolqu ba kelen aman-u temdeg tula čaγan sikürtei ǰaγu ungsiǰu düǰür ǰala. Nočuγsan-u darui-dur qabar-un öndür-ün öončög γadaγsi unabasu qorlal bui bolbaču gürim kibesü amurliqu-yin temdeg bui.*

[27] That the name "Buddha's Obo" (*burqan-u oboγa*) is synonymous with "Area of Protection" (*ibegel-ün γaǰar*) is apparent from a later passage in the text (folio 9r): "If the crack in the Area of Protection is white, this is the compassion of the Buddha." The name "Erlig's obo" (*erlig-ün oboγa*) is also synonymous with "Area of the Departed" (*nögčigsed-ün γaǰar*) since in this type of context the word *nögčigsed* means not "the dead-departed" but those protective deities who have passed beyond the six spheres of existence, (Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*). Cf. *Oracles and Demons*, p. 3 and, for the Mongol phrase *yirtinčü-eče nögčigsen jočid*, "the (sacrifice-) guests who have departed from the world", *Erdeni-yin Tobči* (Sanang Sečen, ed. Schmidt, p. 250). Erlig qan belongs to the group of the "departed" protective deities.

split lengthwise down the middle of the mirror is called the Eternal Great Way. From this central area, the Field of the Nose (i.e. the right hand division of the blade in Plate I) is called the Companion's Direction, the Field of Self, the Inner Field, or the Field of Heat. The second field is called the Enemy's Direction or the Field of Cold."[28] These two main divisions of the blade into fields of heat and cold are hinted at only indirectly in text A where for instance the third diagram marks off a piece towards the top of the blade and gives the notation: "If this falls off in the fire in the direction of cold you will not recover."[29] Contrariwise, a piece at the tip of the spine is similarly marked off in the fourth diagram of text A with the notation: "If this falls off in the direction of heat the matter will be completed quickly."[30]

The text of B 1 continues:

"The slender location[31] below the nose is called the Neck. The location between the Cauldron's Mouth (i.e. the socket) and the Neck is called the Handle. Further, the upper edge opposite the slender point of the nose is called the Area of Heaven. The right-hand corner is called the Area of Dragons. The left-hand corner is called the Area of the Enemy. The high corner of the nose is called the Area of those who have departed. (As mentioned above, this description does not correspond with the illustration in Plate I and is most probably at fault, since only four areas are mentioned while five are illustrated. It looks as if a copyist has omitted a whole line of text.) Further, it is divided from top to bottom through the middle into five parts, called in order the Areas of Emperor, Prince, Minister, Self and Slave. These five are investigated in conjunction with the age – old, middle-aged or young – of the people in one's house. Investigate the old by means of the Emperor's Area. With the Slave's Area one should investigate infants, and correspondingly one should

[28] *Γal-ača abuγsan qoyina* /6v/ *sinjileküi-dür dalu-u tolin-u dumdayur γoldu qaγaraγsan-i asida yeke ǰam kemedeg bui. Tere γool-un γaǰar-ača qabar-un tala-i nökür ǰüg kemekü ba, öber-ün tala kemekü ba, dotuγadu tala kemekü ba, qalaγun-u tala kemekü bui. Tegünče nögüge tala-i day i sun-u ǰüg kemekü ba küiten-ü tala kemekü bui.*

[29] *Küiten-ü ǰüg γal dotora unabal ülü edegekü.*

[30] *Qalaγun-u ǰüg unabasu üiles bütükü qurdun.* This is from a diagram devoted to "Affairs" (*kereg üile-yin tuqai*). The same happening shown on a diagram (no. 3) "Sickness" denotes that a *gürüm* will be of assistance (*Qalaγun-a unabasu gürüm tusalaqu*). Thus in either case the omen is favourable. B 2 specifically defines the two sides respectively as *sayin tala*, "good field" and *maγu tala* "bad field".

[31] Mo. *tus*. No dictionary gives this word as a substantitive but it is difficult to translate the phrase *qabar-un dooraki narin-u tus-i küǰügün kemekü bui* otherwise than as has been done. Cf. also folio 7r: ...*qoyaγula-yin ǰabsar-un tus-i bariγul kememüi*, "one calls the location between them the Handle". The position of the Neck is shown clearly in Plate II, bottom left-hand edge.

learn about others. This is proper as there has been a diminution in importance from the man and woman of the house."[32] A simple symbolism obtains here too in the use made of the five graded central areas for investigating people of greater and lesser importance.

Next, the general import of the cracks in the bone is outlined: "If the neck in the Field of Self breaks, then in that year there will be repentance and sorrow. Therefore perform worship, offerings and obeisances at the temples and shrines. Recite *Yüm*. If the neck of the Outer Field breaks, one will not be able to be overcome by enemies and demons and it is good. If the mouth of the cauldron catches fire, there will be loss of goods and beasts in that year. Therefore recite one hundred times each the *Vaiśravaṇa*, the 'Bond of Goods'[33] and Water-*baling*. Perform all the remedies for cattle and men. Invite good fortune.[34] If it is full up and boiling within the cauldron, cattle and food will be abundant and it is good. If the colour of the Cauldron is white then generally it will be good; but if not, then this is a sign that snow will fall. (This is a typical example of the alternative explanation which is often met with in the interpretative parts of Mongol divination texts.) If it is the colour of pale ashes things will be bad, and therefore recite the *Altan Gerel* every month for a year. If it is blue and red then the wind will get up. If it is black, rain will fall. If it is yellow, it will be warm. This is what is said."[35] Text A, lacking a section of general explanations, treats the appearance of the

[32] *Qabar-un dooraki narin-u tus-i küǰügün* /7r/ *kemekü bui. Toγuγan-u amsar ba küǰügün-luγa qoyaγula-yin ǰabsar-un tus-i bariγul kememüi. Basa tegün-ü qabar-un narin üǰügür-ün tus degedü irmeg-yi tngri-yin γaǰar kememüi. Baraγun öncög luus-un γaǰar ǰegün öncög-i dayisun-u γaǰar qabar-un öndür-ün öncög-i nögčigsed-ün γaǰar kememüi. Basa degere-eče doroγsi γool dumdaγur tabun qubi qubiyaγsan-u* /7v/ *daruγa-bar qan noyan tüsimel öber boγol-un γaǰar-luγa tabun γaǰar kemekü büged, tere tabun-i öber-ün ger dotoraki kümün-ü nasun γeke ba dumda ba üčüken-dür neyilegülǰü sinǰilekü bui. Tere ču qaγan-u γaǰar-iγar kögsid-i sinǰile. Boγol-un γaǰar-iγar nilqas-i sinǰilekü büged, busud-i tegü-ber ǰisiǰü medegdekü. Ger-ün dotora ere eme qoγar-ača* /8r/ *baγuraγ-san-u tula sayin.*

[33] Mo. *ed-ün siǰim*, identification uncertain.

[34] Mo. *kesig dalal*. See Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 162, vol. 4, item 15, for the ritual *Kesig abqu dalalγa üiledkü γosun*. A formula for inviting good fortune is given in item 16 of the same collection, folio 16r, and a similar one in item 19, folio 9v-10r.

[35] *Öber-ün tala-yin küǰügün quγarabasu tere ǰil-dür gemsil γomudal bolqu tula süme sitügen-e takil ergil mörgül üiled, γüm ungsi. Γadaγadu tala-yin küǰügün quγarabasu dayisun ba ada ǰedker-tür ülü čidaγdaqu sayin bui. Toγuγan-u aman sitarabasu tere ǰil-dür ed mal-dür γarulγa-tai tula bisirvani,* /8v/ *ed-ün siǰim usun baling ǰaγuγad-ta ungsi. Kümün mal bükün-ü ǰasal ki. Kesig dalal. Toγuγan-u dotora bučalaǰu dügürbesü mal idege öskü sayin bui. Toγuγan-u öngge čaγan bolbasu γerüde sayin büged ese bügesü časun oroqui-yin temdeg. Čaγibur ünesün öngge-tü bolbasu maγu tula nigen ǰil boltala sara büri* /9r/ *altan gerel ungsi. Köke ulaγan bolbasu salkin ködelkü. Qara bolbasu qura oroqu. Sira bolbasu dulaγan bolqu kemedeg ču bui.*

cauldron in much less detail, giving only one note in its first diagram: "If it is full to bursting, good."[36]

The text of B 1 continues with the general interpretation of the actual rifts appearing in the blade:

"When we analyse: If a crack in the Area of Protection is white, this is the compassion of the Buddha, and it is good. One's fortune and lot will be the highest. If it is black then offer ablutions, lamps and worship to the Buddha. Similarly, whatever crack is white, in that direction there will be no harm and it is good. If it is black, you should perform a *gürüm* suitable to the occasion. If the crack of Heaven comes out black, then perform the Service of Satisfaction of the Protectors of the Faith,[37] and penitence,[38] incense offerings and worship, and fly a *ki-mori* flag. If the crack of the Dragons[39] comes out black then worship the springs and vapours. Lay down *balings* for the Dragons. If the crack of the Enemy comes out black recite *Čaγan sikürtei* and *Prajñāparamitā* many times together with the rites of inhibition.[40] Perform the remedy for quarrels. If the crack of Those who have Passed Beyond comes out black perform a Completion of Years and a Life Ransom." [41 and 42]

"In examining the five areas of Emperor, Prince and so on, associating them with the people in one's own house, things will be good if the crack corresponding to any of them is white. If it is black there will be evil

[36] *Degürkü-ber ijarabasu sayin.*

[37] Mo. *qangγal.* Cf. Kowalewski, p. 728. This service is mentioned by Pozdneev, *Ocerki Byta Buddhiiskix' Monastyrei* (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 282, only as "a service to the Doγsid". According to *Dotuγadu eye-ber tökügerekü jüil-ün sanaγa kemen dürimlekü bićig*, a manual of monastery organisation (Heissig, *op. cit.*, no. 162, vol. I, item 9) the *Qangγal* was performed on the 29th of each month. For texts see Heissig no. 149, item 22, and no. 162, vol. III, items 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15.

[38] Mo. *namančilal.* A detailed confession as part of a ritual is given in Heissig, no. 162, vol. IV, item 19, folios 6r-6v. See also no. 149, item 39.

[39] Mo. *luus*, the dragons, *Nāga.*

[40] Mo. *qariγulγa.* Cf. *Dictionnaire Ordos*, p. 341b, a rite for deflecting evil influences. Cf. a passage of prayer in Heissig, no. 162, vol. IV, item 19, folio 6r: *qarsi jedker künügel-i qariγulun soyor-ha-a*, "Deign to repulse disasters, demons and evils". (I should like to propose as a possibility the identity of *düjür* and *qariγulγa.*)

[41] Mo. *čebleü.* Cf. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 448: "'The Saving from Death' (*'ch'i-bslu*)". See also Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons*, p. 511.

[42] *Ilγabasu ibegel-ün γaǰar-un ǰam čaγan bolbasu burqan-u örüsiyel sayin, qubi ǰayaγan degere bui. Qara bolbasu burqan-dur ugiyal ǰula takil ergü. Tegüncilen alin-u ǰam čaγan bolbasu tere jüg-tür gem ügei sayin* /9v/ *büged, qara bolbasu tegün-e ǰokildaqu gürüm kigdekü̈i. Tere ču tngri-yin ǰam qaralabasu sakiγulsud-un qangγal namančilal sang takilγa-yi üiled, ki mori keyiske. Lus-un ǰam qaralabasu bulaγ ba ayur-i taki, lus-un baling talbi. Dayisun-u ǰam qaralabasu čaγan sikürtei bilig barimid qariγulγa-tai olan ungsi, kelen aman-u ǰasal-i üiled. Nögčigsed-ün ǰam* /10r/ *qaralabasu nasun-u bütügel ba čebleü ki.*

influences from demons and devils and therefore recite the *Doγsid* and perform the necessary remedies. So if a black crack appears from the Area of the Emperor in the direction of Heaven the protective genii of the old people have been diminished. If a black crack appears from the Area of the Emperor in the direction of Those who have Passed Beyond, longevity is threatened; therefore perform a *gürüm* proper to this. Make investigations of the other areas correspondingly. If it splits across in any particular area of the five areas the man concerned will fall sick, so recite the *otači* ('Medecine Buddha'). If it splits across in a location near-by there will be such things as loss and thieving, so offer incense and *baling* to land and water. If it splits so as to block the Great Eternal Way transversally, then there will be delay in the completion of all matters whatsoever. Further, if you have done the burning for the sake of (knowing) the ins and outs of such matters as investigating an affair which has been undertaken, or investigating a traveller, or investigating an illness, then according as to however the plan appears of the cracks which have been made for that occasion make a clear examination of the distinction between good, middling and bad in conjunction with what has been drawn and explained in this book. But though this is so, if you have previous experience and knowledge you should make your investigations in the light of that."[43]

"I shall now speak with reference to the drawings of the shoulder-blade. Now, in making an examination of general affairs there are five processes, namely:

i. Examination by means of the five areas.
ii. Examination of the signs of the upper edge, the neck and the handle below.
iii. Examination of the Eternal Great Way in the middle.

[43] *Qaγan noyan terigüten-ü tabun γaǰar-yi öber-ün ger dotaraki kümün-lüge neyilegülǰü üǰeküi-dür alin-u tus-un ǰam čaγan bolbasu sayin, qara bolbasu ada ǰedker-ün qoorlal bui tula doγsid ungsiǰu, kereg ǰasal üiled. Tere ču qan-u γaǰar-ača tngri-yin ǰüg-tür qara ǰam γarbasu kögsid-ün* /10v/ *sülde sakiγulsud baγuraγsan bui. Qan-u γaǰar-ača nögčigsed-ün ǰüg-tür qara ǰam γarbasu nasun-u γai bui tula tegün-ü qariya-tu gürüm kikü büged, busu γaǰar-ud-i tegü-ber ǰisiǰü sinǰilegdeküi. Tabun γaǰar-un alin-u tus-un γaǰar-tur köndelen daγariǰu qaγarabasu tere kümün ebedkü tula otači ungsi. Tegün-ü oyira tus-tur köndelen qaγarabasu γarulγa* /11r/ *qulaγai metü bolqu tula γaǰar usun sang baling ergü. Asida-yin yeke ǰam-i köndelen bögleǰü qaγarabasu yambar-ba kereg bükün bütükü udaγan bui. Basa ǰoriγsan kereg-yi sinǰilekü ba ǰiγulčin-i sinǰilekü ba, ebečin-i sinǰilekü terigüten-ü narin niγta-yi alin-u tulada tülegsen bügesü tegün-ü tuqai-dur qaγaraγsan-u ǰiruγ yambar metü γaruγsan tegü-ber sayin* /11v/ *maγu dumda-yin ilγal todorqai-yi ene sudur-tur ǰiruγsan yangǰu-luγa neyilegülǰü üǰe. Teyimü bolbaču urida-yin daduǰu medegsen bui bolbasu tegün-lüge ču neyilegülǰü sinǰilegdeküi.*

iv. Examination of the signs of the Nose and the right-hand field.
v. Examination of the Field of Cold.

If all these were contained on one diagram of a shoulder blade there would be too much on it and it would be difficult to understand, and so I shall separate the five and discuss them individually."

"Thus in the first instance there is the method of making an investigation by means of the five areas, whether it is for matters of house and field, of the completion of affairs, of profit and loss, or of sickness or cattle-plague. To take an example: 'A white crack from the Area of Heaven'. If the colour of the crack from the Area of Heaven is white and it meets the Area of Self, *or*, if a white crack from the Area of Self forms turning towards the Area of Heaven, then Buddha and the Protectors of the Faith are protecting and things will be good. If such a split is black in colour, then the Protectors have been profaned and angered, so therefore offer ablutions to the shrines and incense and *baling* to the Protectors. Similarly, having investigated on these lines the direction taken by the points of cracks from the Area of Protection and the Areas of the Dragons, Enemy, and Those who have Passed Beyond towards the Area of the Emperor and the Areas of Prince, Minister, Self and Slave, perform *gürüms* for these respectively. With Emperor and Prince investigate the elders and old people in the house, and with Minister and Self investigate children and beasts."[44]

This ends the general explanations offered by text B 1, which now gives a series of detailed diagrams of shoulder blades, five showing the five procedures outlined above, two for travel, two for sickness, two for the completion of affairs.

[44] *Edüge dalun-u ǰiruγ-luγa neyilegülǰü ügülesügei. Tere ču yerü-yin kereg-yi sinǰileküi-dür tabun γaǰar-iyar üǰekü ba degedü irmeg kiged dooradu* /12r/ *küǰügü bariγul-un temdeg-yi üǰekü ba, dumda-du asida-yin yeke ǰam-i üǰekü ba, qabar-un temdeg kiged baraγun tala-yi üǰekü ba küiten-ü tala-yi üǰekü-lüge tabun ǰüil büged, tedeger bügüde-yi nigen dalun-u ǰiruγ-tur baγtaγabasu asuru oldaγad medekü-dür berke bolqu tula tabun öbere salγaǰu tus tus-tur ügülesügei. Tegünče nigedüger* /12v/ *gerte kegere ba kereg üiles bütügekü ba olǰa γarulγa ba ebečin taqul alin-u tula bolbaču tabun γaǰar-iyar sinǰilekü yosun inu üligerlebesü tngri-yin γaǰar-ača čaγan ǰam kemekü inu tngri-yin γaǰar-ača qaγaraγsan-u öngge čaγan büged öber-ün γaǰar tusqu buyu-uu, öber-ün γaǰar-ača čaγan ǰam tngri γaǰar-a qanduǰu* /13r/ *qaγarabasu burqan sakiγulsun ibegekü sayin. Kerbe teyimü qaγarqai qara öngge-tei bolbasu sakiγulsun buǰarlaγsan ba, aγurlaγsan-u tula sitügen-dür ugiyal ba sakiγulsun-a sang baling takil ergü. Tegünčilen ibegel-ün γaǰar, luus, dayisun, nögčigsed-ün γaǰar-ača qaγan-u γaǰar ba noyan tüsimel öber-e boγol-un γaǰar-tur qaγarqai-yin* /13v/ *üǰügür ǰüglegsen-i neyilegülǰü sinǰileged, tedeger tus tus-un gürim-i üiled. Qaγan noyan qoγar-iyar ger-ün dotora aqalaγči yekes ba kögsid-i sinǰile, tüsimel öber qoγar-iyar keüken mal-i sinǰile.*

INTERPRETATION OF INDIVIDUAL SHOULDER-BLADES

In this section I propose to give an account of the interpretations presented in text B 1 of the cracks which occur when a shoulder-blade is scorched. There is very little additional information to be gained from text A, which is, moreover, extremely concise, offering practically no glosses to its explanations. Further it is not systematic, mixing up on one and the same diagram interpretational remarks, such as *udaγan*, "delay", *sanaγsan bütükü*, "desires will be accomplished", with instructional remarks such as *kele*, "a tongue", *dayisun-u kele qurča*, "enemy's tongue sharp" and so on. Text B 2 is sometimes too cryptic for a simple translation to offer much explanation and some of its diagrams are almost devoid of writing.

The first five diagrams of B 1 illustrate the cracks appearing in different areas of the shoulder-blade and how they are to be interpreted when a general investigation is being made. Plate 1 shows the topography of the two sets of five areas; from the top-left hand corner reading clockwise the Areas of Enemy, Heaven, Dragons, Protection and the Departed are shown, and in the centre from top to bottom the Areas of Emperor, Prince, Minister, Self and Slave. The accompanying text states that the drawing shows a right-hand blade used for making a general examination by means of the five areas. The upper of the two slanting lines represents a crack coming out of the Area of Heaven; others may be compared with this. The lower line shows the appearance of a crack coming out of the Emperor's Area.

Plate II illustrates the interpretation of cracks in the Upper edge, Neck, Handle and Cauldron. The explanations are as follows, taking first those outside the diagram, from the top left-hand corner clockwise, followed by those inside the diagram, from top to bottom:

"i. If it is split downwards concavely[45] here – good.
ii. If the two faces have come apart and an interstitice has occurred one will go on a journey; or if this is not so onc who has gone will arrive.
iii. If the upper face of this is split and twists in the direction of the cauldron – generally good.
iv. If this corner is white – good.
v. If it is full inside here – good.
vi. If this corner turns black – good.

[45] Mo. *qotoyi-*, "to bend down, sag down".

vii. If it splits right through here to the lower 'body', this is called 'splitting the Enemy's neck' – good.

viii. If here[31] it is split upwards convexly[46] – good.

ix. If there are these two or either one of them the affair intended will be accomplished.

x. If the mouth of the cauldron catches fire it is bad, so perform the incense-offering of *Čaγan Cambala*."[47]

Plate III illustrates the markings which may occur on the Eternal Great Way, the long vertical crack which may be produced down the middle of the blade. Cracks on the Nose-side, or Field of Heat, are a favourable omen and cracks on the other side, the Field of Cold, are unfavourable. The position of the crack defines the degree of importance of the omen. The explanatory text runs:

"In the third diagram of a shoulder-blade for examining the Eternal Great Way, what is called the Companion's Tongue[48] is a sign that other people will aid you. Investigate whether the help will be great, middling or small by means of whether the tongue is high up (on the blade), in the middle or low down. What is called the Enemy's Tongue is a sign that men and demons will cause disorders. Examine whether these will be strong or not by means of the three positions, and in this case recite the *Doγsid* many times and set up *baling*. Whether it is a good or a bad tongue, if its point is twisted it is said that the tongue has become weakened and that the help or harm will be small. If the point of the tongue is broken so as to be severed, it is said that the tongue is snapped off[49] and there is neither help nor harm. If the split goes transversally by the Field of Heat, this is a sign of gain; if transversally by the Field of Cold, a sign of loss. In this case recite the Canon of Grace and summon good fortune,[50] and examine whether it (i.e. the loss) is to be great or small by means of the three positions."[51]

[46] See *Dictionnaire Ordos*, p. 274a, and Luwsandendew, *Mongol Oros Toli*, p. 129, s.v. *güdiix*, for this meaning.

[47] I.e. Jambhala, a form of Kuvera (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 368).

[48] Mo. *kele* seems to mean here a short crack, but later (Plate XI) it seems to mean a forked crack.

[49] The manuscript is torn here and the reading uncertain; it appears to be an erroneous *quraγsan* corrected by a gloss into *quγuraγsan*.

[50] See note 34.

[51] Only those passages of text not reproduced in the plates will be transcribed from now on. *Γurbaduγar asida-yin yeke ǰam-i üǰekü dalun-u ǰiruγ-tur nökür-ün kele kemekü inu busu kümün tusa(l)aqu-yin temdeg büged degere dumda doora γurban-iyar tuslalγa yeke dumda baγa γurban jüil-yi sinǰile, dayisun-u kele kemekü inu kümün ba ada ǰedker qarsilaqu-yin temdeg (b)üged küčü-tei ba küčü ügei-yi γurban oron-iyar sinǰile. Tegün-e*

The diagram shows a clear systematization of the above explanations. On the side of the Field of Cold (the left side) are shown six "tongues" annotated from the top downwards as "Loss great: Enemy's tongue sharp: Loss middling: Enemy's tongue weakened: Loss small: Enemy's tongue severed." On the opposite side the annotations are: "Gain great: Companion's tongue good: Gain middling: Companion's tongue middling: Gain small: Companion's tongue small." The symbolism of gain from the Field of Heat and loss from the Field of Cold, coupled with the dependence of the degree of effect upon the relative height on the bone of the crack and the weakening or annulling of the effect through the diversion or interruption of the crack appears to reflect a quite simple transference of imagery. Similar annotations are to be found here and there in text A. It is not clear whether there is any significance in the upward slant of the sharp Enemy's tongue in Plate III.

Plate IV is a diagram of a right-hand shoulder-blade showing the interpretation of cracks on the Nose. The explanations will be translated in the same order as for Plate II:

"i. This is said to be bad. Recite the *Doγsid* and offer sixty *baling*.
ii. If these two are present good words will be heard; but though this is so, it is bad for sick persons.
iii. Gain will come with delay. Recite the *Namsarai*[52] many times and invite good fortune.
iv. If there is a long split like this and it falls off – bad. Therefore recite the *Sungdui*.[53]
v. If the 'crupper' slips off and a 'crescent of distance' appears, all business will be delayed. Recite the *Dara eke* many times and offer four mandalas.
vi. If such a 'crupper' appears a horse which has been found will be lost; if this is not so there will be loss to a traveller who is on the way; if this is not so one will set out oneself on a journey. Recite *Čaγan sikürtei* and instal a *düǰür*.
vii. Affair will be completed at once.

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doγsid olan ungsiǰu baling ǰala sayin maγu yambar kelen bolba(? *ču*) *üǰügür inu muruγibasu kelen* /15v/ *sularaγsan kemekü büged tus*(*a* ? *qoor*) *baγa bui. Kelen-ü üǰügür tasulǰu qaγarabasu kelen* (? *quγuraγsan*) *kemekü tusa qoor ügei bolai. Qalaγun tala-ača köndelen qaγarabasu γarulγa-yin temdeg bui. Küiten-ü tala-ača köndelen qaγarabasu γarulγa-yin temdeg büged egün-e kesig-ün nom ungsiǰu dalalγa ab. Egün-ü yeke baγa-yi ču γurban oron-iyar sinǰilegdeküi.*

[52] Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 84. From Tib, *rnam-sras*.

[53] Cf. Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 72.

viii. Affair will be completed fairly soon.
ix. Affair will be delayed. Recite the *Ölǰeitü silüg* on the twenty-first of each month for a year.
x. Gain middling.
xi. Gain will come at once."

The interpretation for the two cracks which are connected to a quartered circle on the middle of the bone is that given here as item v. A key-sign such as this is used on later diagrams also when the text would have to be crampled unduly if it were entered in its proper place. Here the key-sign has been omitted by oversight from the explanatory paragraph. A crescent (*manglai*, literally "forehead, front") seems to be the name employed for a curved crack. As well as the "crescent of distance" (*qola-yin manglai*) we have, in text A, crescents of swiftness and eternity (*türgen mangnai, asida-yin mangnai*). The former of these two denotes appropriately the arrival of a traveller (*ǰiγulčin irekü*); the latter is not explained. Text B 2 has a "crescent of joy" (*bayar mangnai*) which denotes that all actions will be all right (*aliba üiles sayin*), and also what appears to be a "crescent of loads" (*ačiya mangnai*) which denotes that it is all right to change camp or to go on a journey, and that there will be no sickness or people will get better (*debsiküi-dür sayin yabudal-dur ölǰei bui. Ebedčin ügei edegekü mendü*).

It seems to me possible that in the remark under item v. "if the crupper slips off" (*qudurγa möltüreged*) there may be a reference to the celebrated event in the life of Genghis Khan when he was restrained from leaving the refuge where he was hiding from his enemies by the omen of his saddle slipping and girth breaking as he was saddling his horse.[54] In this diagram, as in Plate VII, the "crupper" is shown as a long crack along the nose. Text B 2 illustrates instead a U-shaped crack on the face of the bone embracing the tip of the Nose as the crupper fits the horse. Other terms relating to the horse are used also by B 2. Thus if the "saddle-bow" (*emegel-ün bügürge*) is reversed (*buruγu*), one can change camp. If it is on right, it is not good to change camp (*emegel-ün bügürge ǰöb debsikü-dür ǰegei*). (The "saddle-bow reversed" is a crescent straddling the ridge of the "Nose" with curve upwards, and vice versa.) Further, a crack across the neck is referred to as a "collar" (Plate IX and also in B 2). This seems to refer to an item of cart-harness, a collar or yoke, rather than an ornament, since in B 2 it is interpreted as having relation to moving camp: *küǰügübči debsikü ba aldaγsan yaγuma olumui ebedčin edegemüi*, "collar – one will

[54] See Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen* (St. Petersburg, 1829), p. 66.

move camp and find lost things and sickness will be cured" (see Plate XII).

Plate V shows the interpretation of signs which appear on the Field of Cold. There is some accompanying text which reads: "In examining the Field of Cold, if there is a split from the Area of Man or the Areas of Beasts (shown on the diagram) up to the edge of the Field of Cold, there will be loss, so recite the *Doγsid* and perform the general remedies. If there is a lengthwise split along the concave part of the cold side, this is called the Enclosure of Cold and is good, and there will be no harm. The lower edge of this is called the Province of Cold. On the field on the further side of this from above downwards are what are called the Places of the Twelve Years. If the area of one's own year is split across recite the *J̌adduγba*[55] and *Doγsid*, perform the general remedies and the *rabrui*[55] of *Bazar bidarana*"[56]

The topographical information given here is not paralleled completely on the diagram and is not perfectly plain. It seems however that the "concave part of the cold side" denotes the actual edge of the blade which is in fact thickened and slightly concave, and that a crack along this is called the Enclosure of Cold. It seems likely further that the Places of the Twelve Years are to be found on the other side of the bone altogether, the only instance in this manuscript of the flat side of the bone being taken into account.

The explanations on the diagram are as follows, taking first the three key-signs, then the text at the top and left of the blade, and finally that inside the blade.

"i. The 'Enemy's Host' and the 'Province of Cold' are greatly broken – very good.

ii. The 'Enemy's Host' is broken to a middling degree – good to a middling degree.

iii. The 'Enemy's Host' is little broken – small good.

iv. The locations of the twelve years are examined on the back side of

[55] According to Prof. Poppe: *J̌addamba* or *J̌addumba*, a holy book.

[56] For *Bazar bidarana* see for example Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 139, item 73, and Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol Imprimé*, no. 590. The text of this passage reads: *Tabuduγar küiten tala-yi üjeküi- dür kümün-ü γaǰar ba mal-un γaǰar-ača küiten-ü tala-yin irmeg kürtele qaγarabasu γarulγa ǰedker bui tula doγsid olan ungsiǰu yerü-yin ǰasal ki. Küiten-ü qaǰiγuu-yin qotoγor-iyar γoldu qaγarabasu küiten-ü qasilγa kemekü sayin büged γai ǰedker ügei kemekü. Tegün-ü dooradu irmeg-yi küiten-ü möči kemedeg bui. Egün-ü činadu tala-dur degere-eče doroγsi arban qoyar ǰil-ün oron kemekü büged öber-ün* /17v/ *ǰil-ün γaǰar köndelen qaγarabasu ǰadduγba, doγsid ungsiǰu, yerü-yin ǰasal bacar bidarana-yin rabrui ki.*

the '2[57] Provinces of Cold' at the time of the New Year.

v. If there is no split at this location then it is good for people born in the year of the rat.

vi. Ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog.

vii. For people born in the year of the pig, if there is no split in this location – good. For those born in other years too it is good if there is no split in their respective locations.

viii. No harm for the elder generation.

ix. Harmful.

x. No harm for the middle aged.

xi. Harmful.

xii. No harm for children and slaves.

xiii. Harmful."

Items viii and ix, x and xi, xii and xiii respectively are connected with each other by dots and called Area of Men, Area of Horse-herds and Camels, and Area of Oxen and Sheep.

This completes the elucidation of the cracks appearing in the different parts of the blade when a general investigation is being undertaken. The remaining diagrams are for use in special circumstances: two are devoted to journeying, two to sickness and two to the completion of affairs – apparently judicial affairs and the like. That this is so is indicative of the type of cares and worries which afflict a nomad society where social organisation is unable to cope practically with all daily needs. The interpretation of the cracks is a matter of considerable sophistication, all sorts of appearances being considered, but the human cares concerned are of a simple and direct nature – Shall I arrive safely? Shall I get better? Will my affairs be delayed by the officials? The types of reply offered – Offer tea to the clergy; If the crupper is straight you will find a doctor if you look for one, and so on – seem to me, if they are characteristic of the whole of a group, to indicate a comparatively low stage of social and economic development.[58]

[57] It is uncertain if the text has a figure 2 or an erroneous stroke which has not been erased.

[58] For further examples of reliance on magical means or on easily-obtainable but possibly ineffectual folk-remedies to counter the ills of every-day life cf. the paper by Rintchen quoted in note 18 above. For similar cures see a manuscript *Dom kemegdekü orusiba*, "Magic medecine", Fonds mongol no. 158, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where cures such as the following are detailed: "If you cannot make water, boil up the stalks of wheat and if you drinkit it is good. If a woman's monthly courses come in excessive degree, burn the nest of a wren and if you swallow it down with three drams of brandy they will be stanched at once. If the eyesight becomes weak, drop human

Plate VI is a diagram of a left-hand blade used for investigating a traveller on a journey. (The diagram is somewhat distorted. Although the "nose" is shown correctly on the left hand side of the blade, it inclines to the right instead of to the left and presents the wrong face to the viewer.) The explanations are taken in the same order as for Plate II.

"i. If these two or either one of them appear, the traveller will arrive happily.
ii. If these two or either one of them appear, men and beasts will all arrive safely.
iii. One will arrive happily and immediately.
iv. If a little falls off from here one will arrive at once.
v. If two cruppers appear one will arrive at once.
vi. If the collar appears there will be gain.
vii. Good words will be heard and one will arrive straightway in two or three days and nights.
viii. If there are these two one will arrive at once.
ix. If this does not appear there will be delay.
x. If there are two crescents or one like this – very joyful."

Less favourable omens for travellers are shown in Plate VII which is unfortunately rather damaged at the corners, which have been rubbed away and browned through heavy use. The items of explanation are given in the same order as before.

"i. Since the journey may be either peaceful or dangerous recite the Dispeller of Darkness in the Ten Directions[59] a hundred hundred times.
ii. If Heat and Cold are far apart and there is a design turned upwards between them there will be delay.
iii. ...in accomplishment.... great...
iv. ...its accomplishment will be delayed.
v. You will have got separated from your companions or there will be trouble with the mounts so recite the *Doγsid* and perform remedies for willow-the-wisps and get rid of lewdness.[60]

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milk in them each morning and the sight will return. If Siberian ulcers break out, burn the bones of a cat and anoint them and it will be good." (Modern treatment of Siberian ulcers, *quluγana yara*, in cattle includes cauterisation, isolation of infected beasts, and burial of carcases of dead beasts. See *Mal aǰu aqui degere-ben yaγakiǰü ačilaqu tuqai arad-tu ögkü sanaγulγa surγal*, Ulan Bator, 1945, p. 354.)

[59] M. *arban ǰüg-ün qarangγui arilγaγči.*

[60] Mo. *sadar*. See Luwsandendew s.v. *sadar*, p. 342.

vi. This is called the crupper broken. Arrival will be delayed.

vii. Though there is a crescent of distance above it is said to be much broken. If this sign occurs, when the travellers have arrived, many words ... and trouble will occur on the march. Recite *Čaγan sikürtei* and *Bazar* (*bidarana*) (? a hundred times) and instal a *düǰür*.

viii. This is called the collar broken. There will be thieves and sickness. Make the 'hundred-thousand' incense-offering.

ix. ? Transverse:[61] delay will be great. Recite *Ölǰeitü silüg* a hundred times.

x. One will have to go back and there will be delay.

xi. Called the 'Crescent of Distance'." (Referred to in item vii).

There is in text A no diagram assigned by title to questions of travelling, but the fifth of its diagrams is devoted to this matter and one or two entries on the sixth and eighth are applicable. Thus item ii of Plate VI above appears in A with the two notations: *türgen iremüi*, "will arrive speedily" and *bayar-tai qurdun iremüi*, "will arrive happily and quickly". Item v of Plate VII is paralleled by a notation in a diagram of A at approximately the same place: *nöküd-eče salqu ba unuγa-dur gem bolqu*, "you will be separated from your companions and have trouble with the mounts". Not all the prognostications can of course be paralleled in both texts, but there is certainly a considerable measure of agreement.

The next two diagrams, which concern cases of sickness, are the most crowded of the whole manuscript. They are both of left-hand shoulder-blades and have been drawn correctly, which leads me to be of the opinion that the scribe was in error in describing Plate VI and by implication Plate VII as left-handed (especially as travelling is investigated in text A by means of right-hand blades).

Plate VIII, "First diagram of a left-hand blade for the curing of sickness" is described in the same order as previous blades. (Some of the text has unfortunately been obscured in the binding and has not appeared in the photograph.)[62]

"i. If a figure appears from the location of the Nose meeting this figure there will be help from medicine – good.

[61] Mo. *köndelei*, which I cannot trace but translate as *köndelen*. There are further occurrences of the word. According te Prof. Poppe problably written instead of *köndeleng*.

[62] The beginnings of the lines on the right-hand edge of the plate which have been obscured read: *ebečin: nigedüger: ene: sakiya: -iyer: -san-u: sakiγulsun-a: ergü: qalaγun-u: kele bui: bolbasu: öber-ün: emči-ber: tusa: takil: kemegsen: ǰula: ?yisün-eče: ög: yüm.*

ii. If there are two like this the Guardians of the Door will look after you and so you will get better straightway.

iii. If this appears convex it is a sign that harm will be suppressed by means of amulets and inhibitory rites and so on – good. Offer *baling* properly to the protective genius.

iv. If there is a Tongue of Heat, there will be help from a doctor in your vicinity.

v. If the crupper is straight you will find a doctor should you look for one and he will be of assistance.

vi. 'Worship, alms, *gürüm*' means: Offer lamps and incense to your own shrines and monasteries; offer tea to the clergy-assemblies; give alms to the poor above...[63]; recite *Altan Gerel* and *Pañcarakṣā* three times and the *Yüm*.

vii. If it falls off...[64] to the Field of Heat, there will be no evil... at all: good. If the blade falls ... sickness ... and so recite the *Doγsid* many times and perform the remedy of *Modun čimeg*.[65]

viii. If such as this appears on the inner field of the Nose it is called the 'Enclosure of Heat' – very good.

ix. If such a crescent appears there is generally no harm – good.

x. No help or harm from food.

xi. Worship, alms, food. (Key-word for item vi.)

xii. Though there may be spells and evil influences from others, there will be assistance from *gürün* and medicine and so fear is absent. *Dara eke* and the Four *Doγsid* a thousand times each and make the threadcross[66] of *Dara eke*."

Plate IX is headed simply "Second".

"i. If it separates from the Eternal Great Way and goes to the Area of the Enemy you will not get better. Perform the *Nasun-u gürüm* ('*Gürüm* of long life') assiduously.

ii. If such a sign appears – a little better.

iii. If such an enclosure appears cutting off the Area of the Enemy one will revive bit by bit.

iv. If it collapses in this location it is hard for medicine or *gürüm* to be of assistance, so perform the *Buyan-u ǰüil* assiduously.

v. If these three appear then the debts to the demons of indisposition

[63] Mo. *yisün-eče* or *nasun-ača*. I do not understand this.
[64] Mo. *tüsiye*... possibly for *tüsiǰü*, "leaning" as in item vii, Plate IX.
[65] ?; Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 191.
[66] Mo. *düi*, probably from Tib.*mdos*.

are great, so have a substitute-figure and perform the remedy of the *Dörben ǰaγutu* and the life-ransom of Ayusi.

vi. If the crupper is enlarged be assiduous with medicines and *gürüm*.

vii. If in the fire it falls off in the Direction of Cold it will be hard to get better. If it falls leaning to the Field of Heat there will be help with some difficulty[67] if you are assiduous with *gürüm*.

viii. While other signs are bad if such a crescent appears there will be undetermined sickness as soon as it is scorched. Perform a *gürüm* carefully.

ix. If it collapses bit by bit like this it is hard for medicines and *gürüm* to help and so you must make extreme efforts.

x. If this collapses recovery will be very difficult.

xi. If it is like this – a little better.

xii. If it appears? transversal[68] (Key-word).

xiii. If the collar appears." (Key-word.)

On the following page explanations are given of the meanings of four signs indicated by keys on the diagram. These are first the four diamonds at the top of the blade, thirdly item xii above and fourthly item xiii above, but the second key, which resembles a capital D with two small circles one above the other on the left of the upright and one small circle between them on the right of the upright, has apparently been omitted from the diagram. These four items are:

"xiv. If it collapses in this pattern the Guardians who have Passed Beyond are angry and there will be evil influences from spells and quarrels. *Čaγan sikürtei* and *Arsalan terigütü*[69] three hundred times each[70] and make *baling*, *düǰür*, and the remedies for quarrels.

xv. Since it is harmful to the people in the house, (recite) the *Otoči* a hundred times, *Yamandaga-yin lhosegü*[71] forty-nine times, the Four *Doγsid*, *Qayanggriva* (= *Hayagrīva*) and *Tabun Qan* a thousand times each.[72] Make a royal thread-crosses.[73]

[67] Mo *berke-siγ-iyer* is obscured in the binding.

[68] See note 61.

[69] ?; Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 162, vol. 1, item 25.

[70] Mo. *ǰaγuγad* emended from ms. *ǰaγuqan*.

[71] Meaning uncertain.

[72] ?; The five great kings of Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 89.

[73] The "royal thread cross" (*qan tonglai*; cf. Kowalewski, *Dict.*, II, p. 1796) (= Tib. *rgyal-mdos*: cf. *Oracles and Demons*, p. 371) is mentioned also in an incomplete ms. concerning divination by means of twelve coins entitled *Geser qaγan-u arban qoγar ǰoγos-un tölge tegüsbe* (Stuttgart, Linden Museum, Sammlung Umlauff No. 71372): *naiman moγai učiraγsan... qan tongli kiǰü baraγun ǰüg γarγa*, "If it falls on eight, snake... make a royal thread-cross and set it ont towards the west."

xvi. If it appears? transversally,[68] there will be many set-backs and it will take long to cure, so recount the 'Years of *J̌adduγba*',[74] (offer) a thousand water-*baling*, (recite) the *Doγsid* many times and (perform) the necessary remedies.

xvii. If the collar appears this is very bad, so enliven[75] the offerings to the great saints, to the blessed shrines and to the great places. Be assiduous in good works and *gürüm*."[76]

The second and third diagrams of text A are devoted to matters of sickness. While all the prognostications do not of course coincide, there are striking similarities. Thus the tip of the nose has the same significance as in item vii of Plate IX: *γal dotora qalaγun-a unabasu gem ügei, küiten-ü ǰüg unabasu kündü*, "if iu the fire it falls off towards Heat there is no harm; if it falls off in the direction of Cold it will be serious". Danger arising from maleficent spells (*qariyal*) is mentioned here also. A crack in the same situation as item xii of Plate VIII is explained: *qariyal-un qariγulγa ki*, "perform rites for averting maleficent spells". A jagged crack like that shown in item xiv, Plate IX is explained: *qariyal türgen*, "maleficent spells speedily". (For *qariyal* see Dictionnaire Ordos p. 388a). Item ix of Plate IX appears in a much more abrupt form in text A: *unabal tusa ügei*, "if this falls off there is no help."

Plate X is entitled "First diagram of a left-hand shoulder-blade for investigating the completion of affairs". The explanations are:

"i. The matter will be completed satisfactorily.

ii. If this sign occurs between the Ways of Heat and Cold it is a sign that the men you have sent will arrive at their destination and that the matter will be forwarded. (The Key-sign has been omitted from the diagram and the crack left unspecified).

iii. The Emperor and the government at the capital will benevolently approve.

[74] See note 55; meaning not clear.

[75] The form of "enlivening" or consecrating a holy object is the subject of Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 162, vol. 4, item 1, *Sitügen amilaqu ungsilγa*.

[76] *Eyimü yangǰu-tai čömürebesü činadus-un sakiγulsu tngri aγurlaγsan ba qariyal kelen aman-u qoorlal bui čaγan sikürtei arsalan terigütü γurban ǰaγuγad* (*note* 70) *doγsid mingγ . . . baling düǰür kelen aman-u ǰasal ki.*

Ger dotora kümün-e γai-tai tula otoči ǰaγu yamandaγa-yin lhosegü döči yisü dörben doγsid qayanggirva tabun qan mingγaγad qan tongli (tungli) ki.

Köndelei γarbasu urbalγa olan uǰiγ tula ǰadduγba nasu toγalaǰu usun baling mingγa doγsid olan kereg ǰasal kičiye.

Küǰügübči γarbasu masi maγu tula yeke boγda nar ba adis-tu sitügen ba yeke orod-tur ergülge amala, buyan ba gürüm kičiye.

iv. From other strangers commands will be heard.
v. If it falls to the Field of Heat the affair will be completed at once.
vi. Good immediately.
vii. This is called 'propping up by the armpit'. There are helpful companions, so it is good.
viii. The officials will make a minor delay, so recite *Čaγan sikürtei* and *Bazar bidarana* and instal a *düǰür*.
ix. Good in the distance.
x. One's own people will assist.
xi. Strangers will assist."

Plate XI, "Second".

"i. If there are a lot of tongues like this from Heat and Cold, and if between them there are a lot of ?transversal and arched (cracks) it will be hard for the affair to be completed. Especially will the strength of Those Beyond be great and will it be hard for you to gain your desires if the broken piece of the tongue is convex. Worship the tutelary genius and fly *ki-mori* flags.
ii. If these two occur loss will be great, so recite *Dara eke* very assiduously.
iii. If the collar is interrupted and has a tongue there is trouble within, here and there. *Ökin tngri* a hundred times, and offer a *düǰür* properly.
iv. If it is split like this and falls in the direction of Cold it will be difficult for the affair to be completed and there will be delay.
v. Though there is an Enclosure of Heat, if it appears ?transversally delay will be great.
vi. Other signs bad. (Key-sign).
vii. Way of affairs. (Key-sign).
viii. Enclosure of Cold. (Key-sign).
ix. On business. (Key-sign)."

The explanations given for the four key-phrases in items vi to ix above are:

"x. Since the Way of Affairs is blocked transversally there is delay. *Ölǰeitü silüg* and *Bazar bidarana* a great number of times. (Key-sign a quartered square).
xi. If there is an Enclosure of Cold, matters will get a little better, but if the inside part collapses there is no help. (Key-sign two triangles with apices touching).
xii. While other signs are bad, if a crescent like this appears it will be like a deceptive joy. (Key-sign a swastika).

xiii. There are great hindrances to a man travelling on business, so (recite) the *Doγsid* a thousand times and perform the remedies for willow-the-wisps."[77]

Finally, general advice for the conduct of affairs is offered. "In bringing matters of business in general to conclusion it is good if you offer *baling* and services of satisfaction for the protective deities, worship the tutelary genii, fly *ki-mori* flags, make offerings of incense, and recite *Ölǰeitü silüg*, *Bazar bidarana*, *Arban ǰüg-ün qarangγui arilγaγči*, *Dara eke* and *Čaγan sikürtei*."[78]

This ends the practical exposition of the method. There follows in conclusion a general exhortation to reverence in performance of the ceremony, together with a colophon:

"If you are not satisfied with the way it is shown in the above drawings, you can make your investigations by adapting yourself to the main lines of the drawings. Also, if the recitations and *gürüm* are carried out to the best of a man's ability relative to what is written here it will be all right. If the actions of virtue are performed in general with belief and reverence, the benefits will be great. If there is any dispute as to whether the benefits exist or not, the benefits will be as hollow and insubstantial as the rainbow in the sky. Similar to this teaching it is also taught that if in undertaking soothsaying you believe the truth will come through the united power of desiring and praying sleeplessly and truly for the deliverance of the three jewels, then the signs will come unequivocally and clearly.

I have written this "Examination of the Sheep's Shoulder-blade" taking the compositions of Sumba Gambo[79] as the core, and have made clear that which had to be added in. May all living beings thereby know the difference between what is profitable and what is harmful and through holding to every profitable and good thing may they enjoy continual prosperity and good fortune. Manggalam!"[80]

[77] *Kereg-ün ǰam-i köndelei-ber böglegsen-ü tula saγad-tai, ölǰei-tü silüg baǰar bidarana ali olan ungsi.*

Küiten-ü qasilγa bui bolbasu üčüken ilari bolbaču dotorki inu čömüriǰü unabasu tusa ügei.

Busu temdeg maγu atala eyimü manglai γarbasu qaγurmaγ (emended from ms. *qaγurman*) *bayar metü bui.*

Kereg-tür yabuqu kümün-e ǰedker yeke tula doγsid mingγa albin-u ǰasal ki.

[78] *Yerü kereg üile-yi bütügekü-dür sakiγulsun-u baling qangγal ba sülde takiqu ki mori keyiskekü sang talbiqu, ölǰeitü silüg baǰar bidarana arban ǰüg-ün qarangγui arilγaγči dara eke, čaγan* /22v/ *sikürtei-nuγud-yi ungsibasu sayin.*

[79] What looks lake a figure 2 appears before *sumba*. See note 57.

[80] *Degere ǰiruγ-tur bayiγsan yosuγar ese qayirabasu ǰiruγ-un baruγ-iyar neyilegülǰü sinǰilebesü bolqu bui. Ungsilγa gürüm-yi ču ende bičigsen-iyer ǰisiged kümün-ü čidal-un*

In the above account the text B 1 has been treated in detail since it is the fullest and most systematic of the three I have seen. Text A adds little if anything at all to the general understanding of the ceremony, while B 2 is both cryptic and unsystematic. Moreover its promising title: "Examination of Shoulder-blades for the Life of Old Men" is not elucidated by the text. Some of its entries have already been quoted and I now quote, in conclusion, some of the remaining entries, some of which are so obscure as to defy interpretation at present. Thus:

činua-yin ulingqai, "wolf's left-overs".
üküsgen kümün ǰidkür, "dead men and demons".
usun, "water".
sünesün-ü γai, "soul's harm".
qonoγ-un kemǰiye, "the space of a night".
quyaγ, "breastplate".
ir-tü üǰügür-tü, "with blade and point".
kümün temege, "man and camel".
mori, "horse".

It seems to me very probable that these and similar interpretations are to be read in conjunction with other glosses.

Text B 2 adds one or two interesting terms to the topographical vocabulary of the shoulder-blade. A short vertical crack starting from the top edge is called the "Idol's Crack" (*ongγod-un ǰam*) and a curved crack across the base of the nose is called, appropriately, *samsa*, "the sacrum". A straight crack across the tip of the nose is called *mörgül*, "obeisance".

Whether or not superstitious practises such as scapulimancy will survive under the new order which now controls all parts of Mongolia is highly doubtful, and I have thought it perhaps of some use to give a detailed account of what a practical soothsayer's handbook, as used only yesterday, looks like. Not everything is clear, and for that reason the text has been given throughout, either in transcription or in the original.

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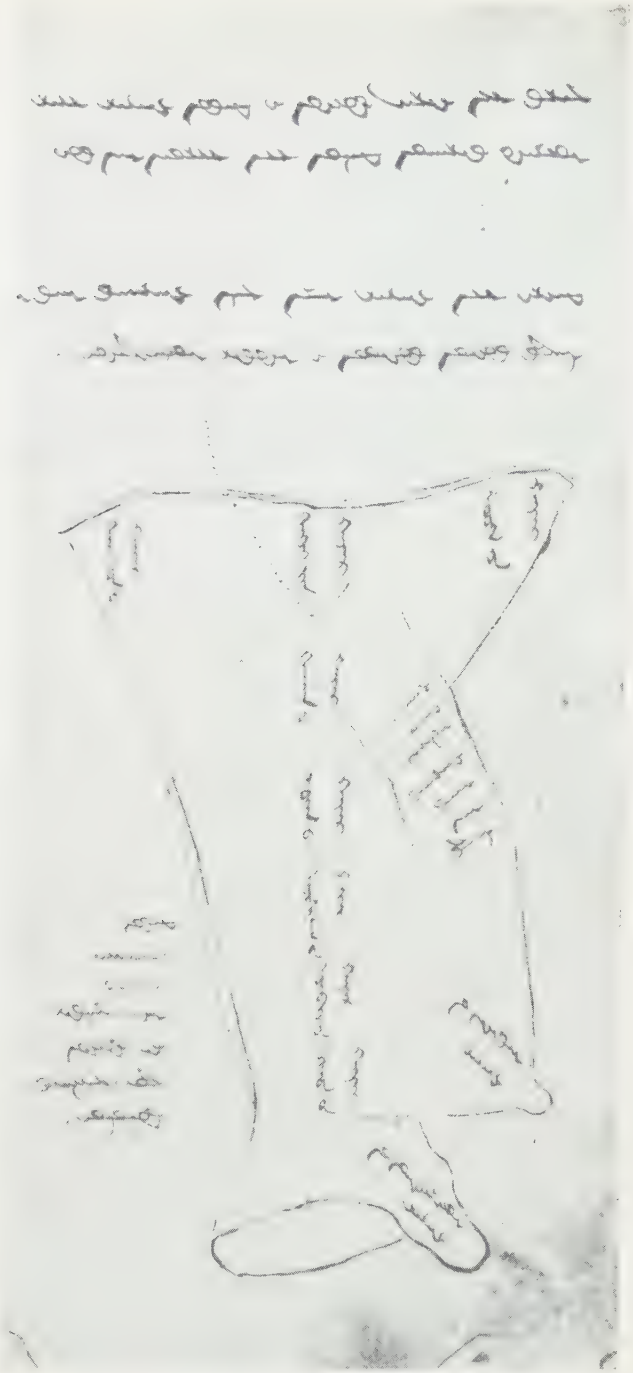
kiri-ber üiledbesü bolumui. Yerü buyan-u üile-yi itegekü süsüg-iyer üiledbesü ači tusa yeke büged tusa bolqu bolbau ügei bolbau kemen damǰilabasu ači tusa inu oγtarγui-yin solongγa metü köndei sebigi bolqu kemen nomlaγsan-luγa adali tölge sinǰilel-dür ču γurban erdeni-yin abural umtaγa ügei ba /23r/ *üneger ǰoriǰu sibsigsen terigüten nayilaγsan-u* (? *neyilegsen-ü*) *küčü-ber maγad ünen bolqu kemen itegebesü temdeg endegürel ügei todorqai bolqu kemen nomlaǰuqui. Qonin-u dalu-yin üǰilge egün-i sumba gambo-yin ǰokiyaγsan-yi γool bolγaγad nemekü kereg-tei nügüd-yi todorqai bolγan bičibei. Egü-ber ču amitan-nuγud tusa-tai qoor-tai-yi ilγan medeged, ali tusa-tai sayin-i sitügsen-iyer keb keǰiyete amurǰin ǰirγaqu boltuγai. Manggalam.*



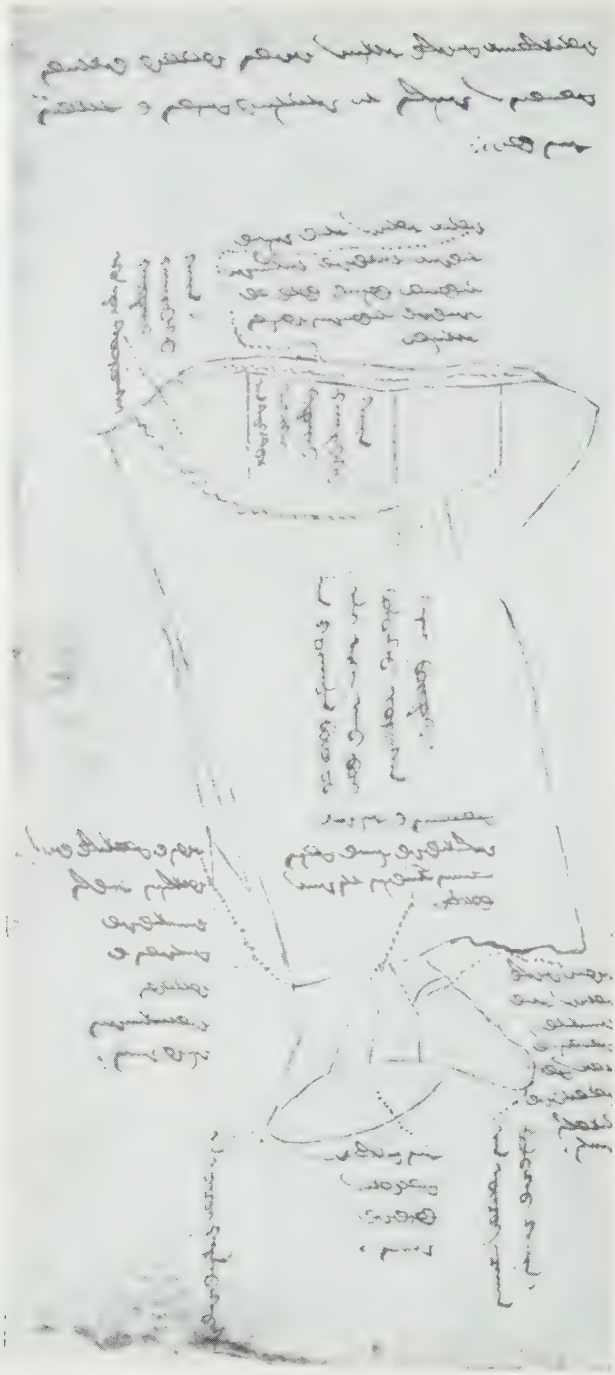
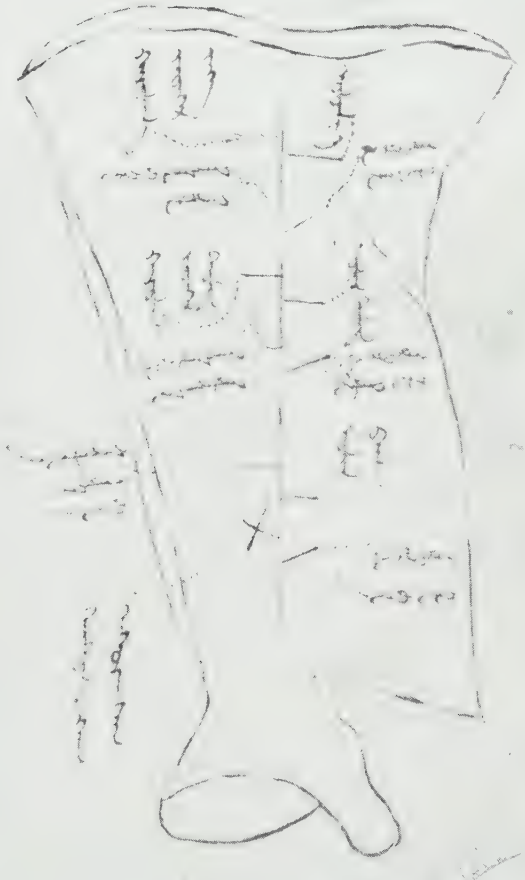
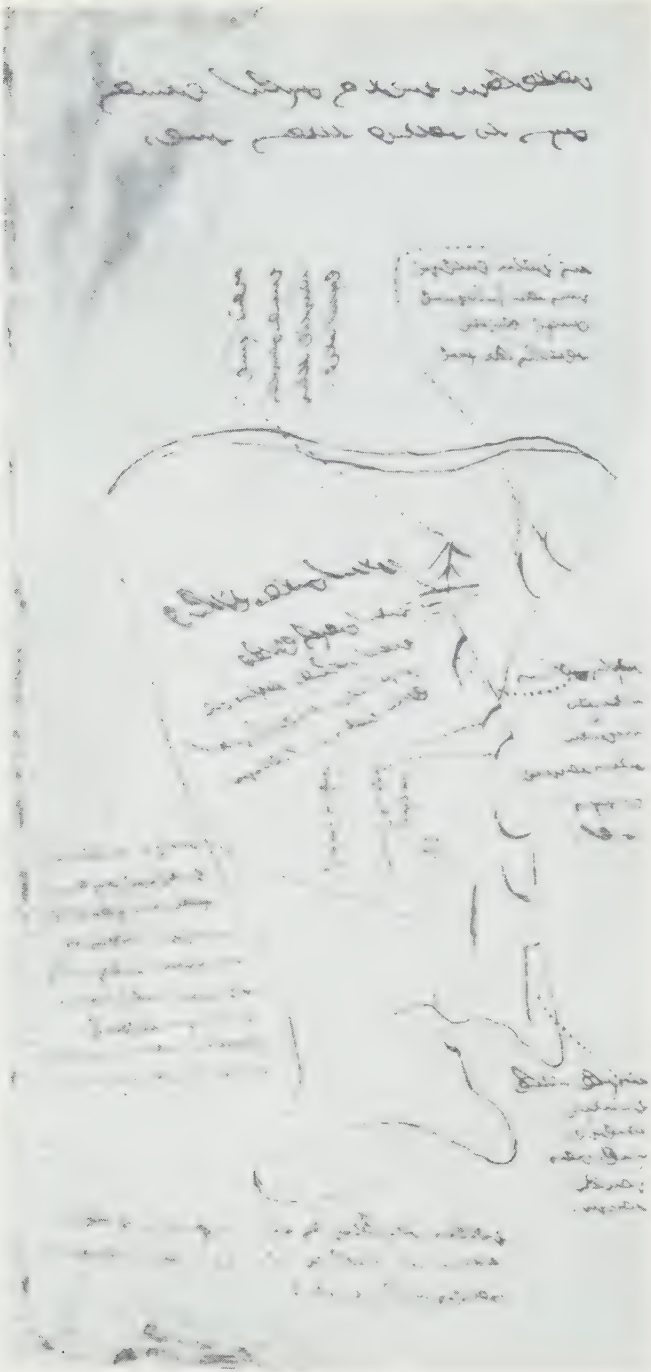
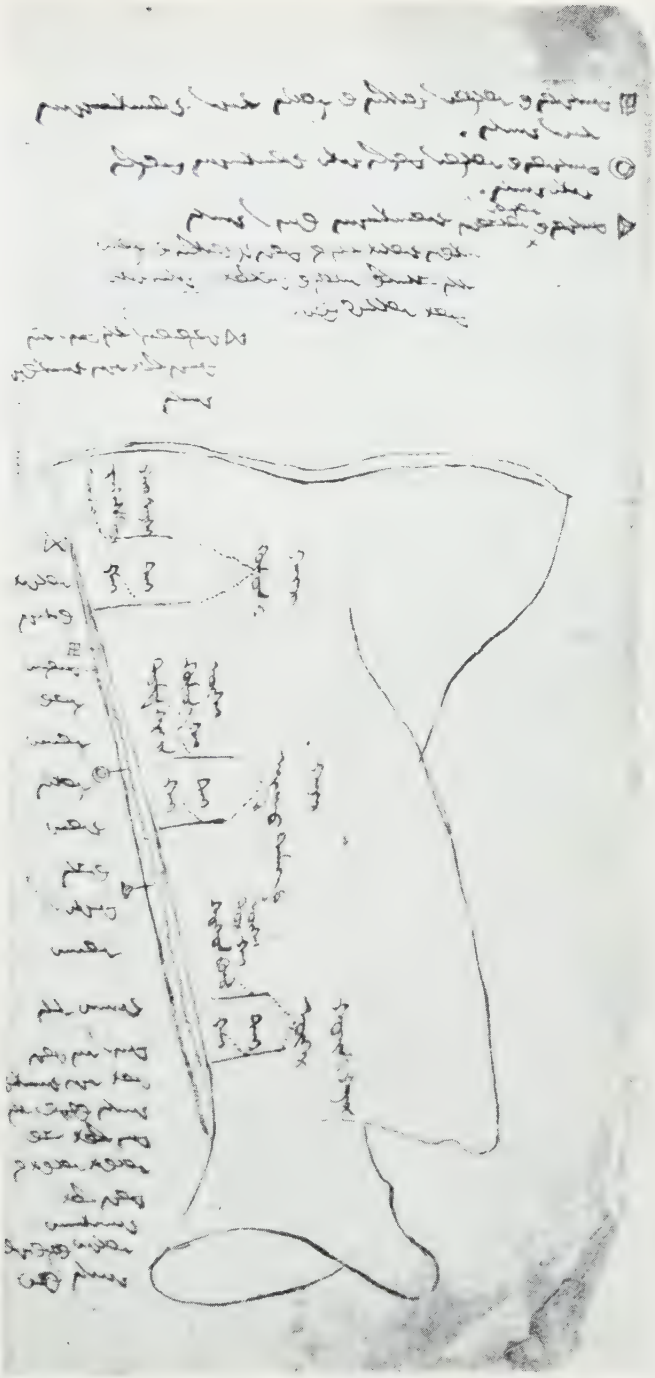


PLATE III







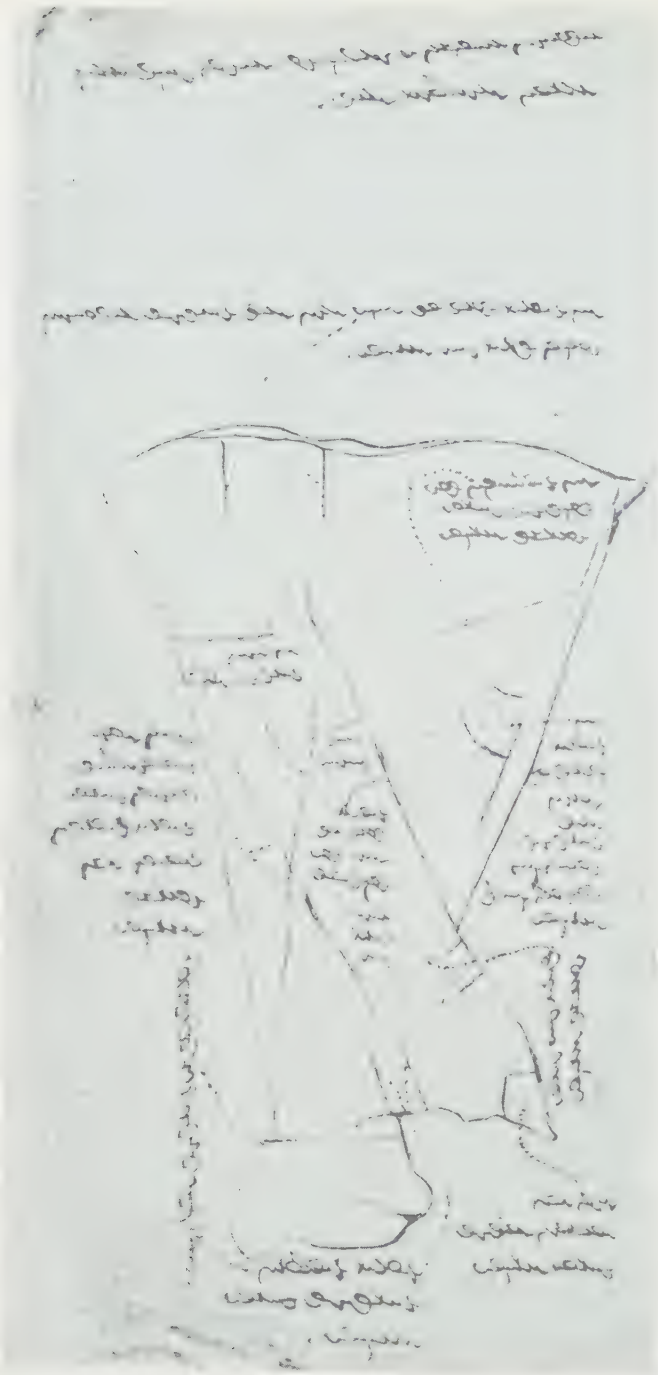
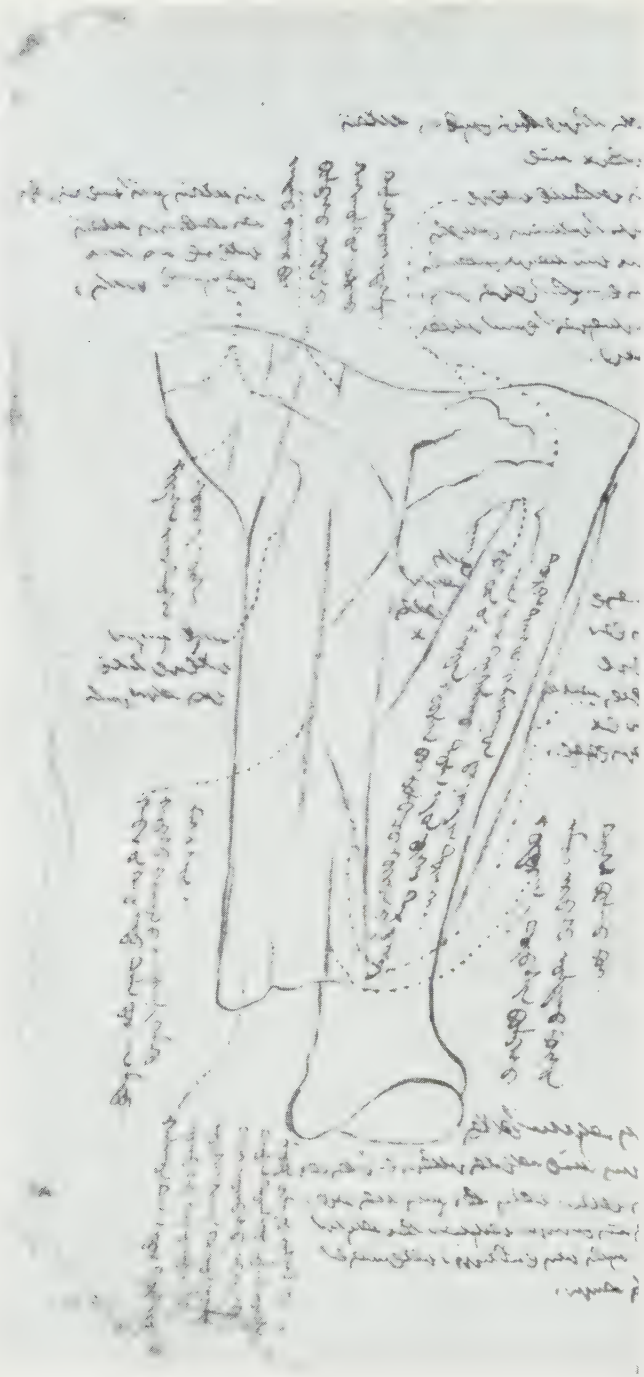
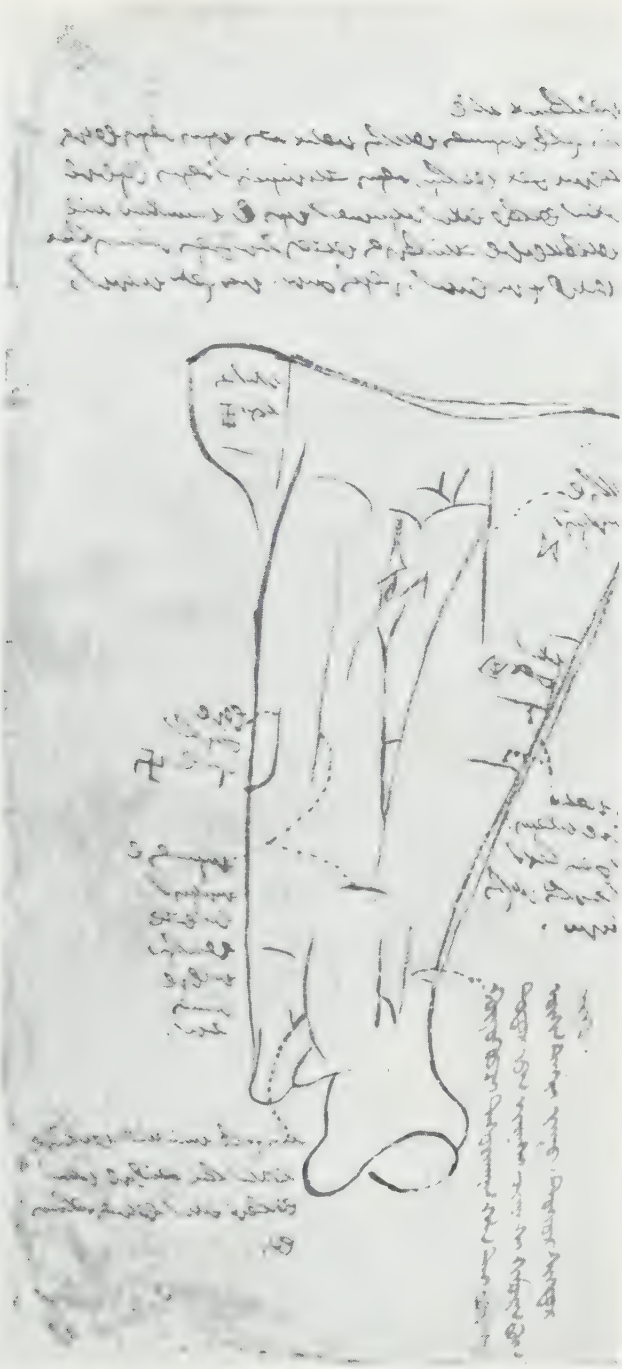
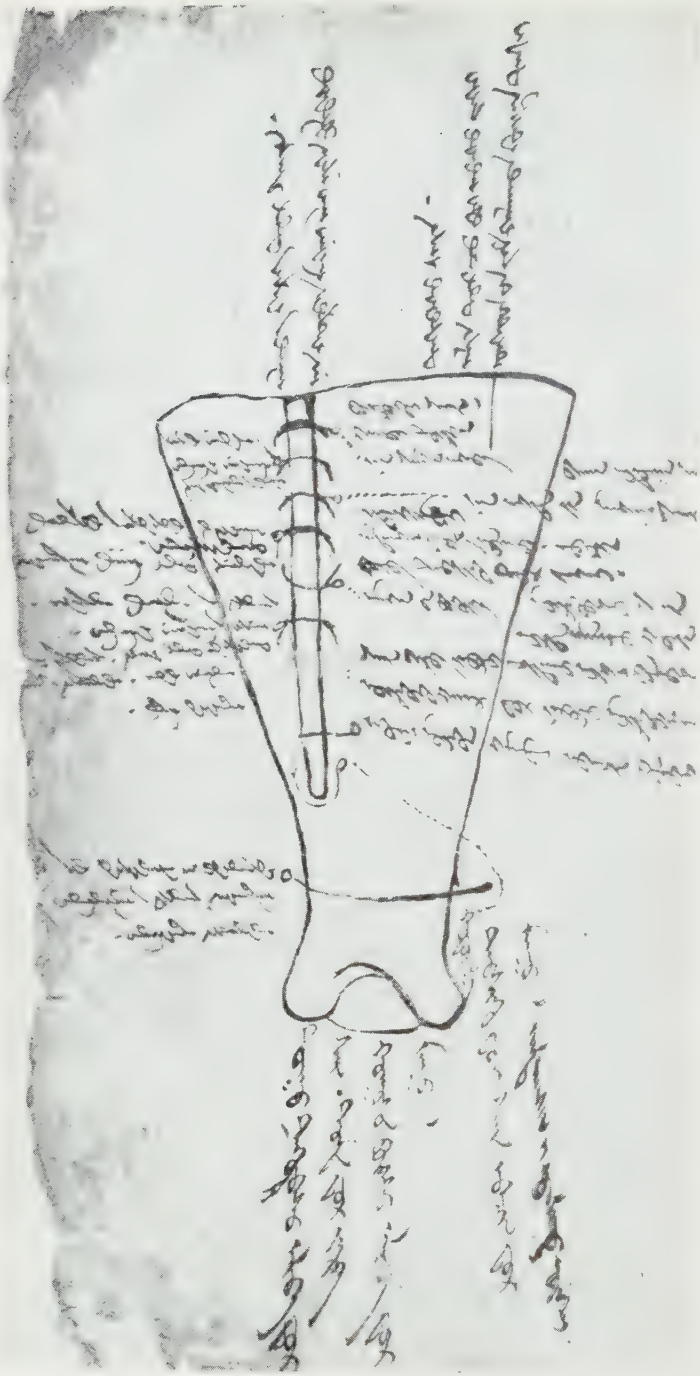


PLATE VII







A sample diagram from text B2 (untranslated)

ETHNOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE TARIM BASIN

by

W. SAMOLIN

Eatontown, N.J.

A. GENERAL

In the last decade of the nineteenth and first of the twentieth century, expeditions into the Tarim Basin by the Germans, Russians, Japanese, French, and English led to a series of finds in the realm of linguistics, art, and material culture which has almost as profound an affect on the history of humanities as the earlier pioneer work in linguistics by Sir William Jones and Franz Bopp. The most striking of the material uncovered was that which brought to light new Indo-European language material. It was then discovered that the languages of Eastern Turkistan were not Turkic prior to the eighth century in the north and the tenth century in the south.[1]

In the realm of material culture the finds indicated the existence of a rich and varied civilization which, in spite of its proximity to the high culture of China, drew on India, Iran, and the hellenized Orient for its art, religion, and material culture. The dominant factors in the culture of the Oasis States derived less from their position at the "crossroads of civilization" than from earlier cultural and ethnic affinities. It is only with the advent of the Uyγurs, upon whom the imprint of Chinese culture was much greater than on the population of the Oasis States, that Chinese cultural influence becomes pronounced. Still, even the Uyγurs

[1] For a convenient résumé of the initial discoveries and preliminary results of decipherment see A. Meillet, "Les nouvelles langues indo-européens trouvées en Asie Centrale," *La Revue du Mois*, XIV, No. 80 (1912). For a survey of chronological problems, see S. Konow, "War tocharisch die Sprache der Tocharer?" *Asia Major*, LX, Fasc. iii (1933); P. Pelliot, "Tokharien et Koutchien," *JA*, t. CCXXIV, 1934. Problems involved in the dating of the documents have been considered elsewhere, W. Samolin, *The Turkisation of the Tarim Basin up to the Qara-Qytay*, University Microfilms Publ. 6696, Ann Arbor, Appendix II.

[2] Samolin, *op. cit.*, Appendices I–IV.

had more in common with the culture of "outer-Iran" than with that of China.[2]

For our purposes we may divide the region into three areas which have distinct archaeological and geographic features. The three areas in question are the Lop region, the Khotan region with its sphere of influence to the south and west, and the northern region from Aqsu to Turfan. The omission of Tun-huang is not an oversight. Though the sculpture, frescoes, temple banners, and manuscripts discovered at Tun-huang are of prime importance for the study of the development of Chinese Buddhism and its late Taoist imitations, the material offers little of significance for the present investigation, except perhaps for the donor and donatrix figures in the earliest representations. For us Tun-huang is a Chinese city.[3]

B. THE LOP REGION

Lou-Ian seems to be the oldest Lop settlement noted in Chinese annals, its first mention is c. 175 B.C.[4] The Chinese accounts also note that after the year 77 B.C., when a king of Lou-Ian was beheaded by the Chinese and a prince more favorable to the court was put in his place, the capital was moved to Shan-shan, as the kingdom was then called.[5] There is little doubt that Lou-Ian is to be identified with Kharaun of Ptolemy.[6] Shan-shan was located at the present site of Čarqlyq.[7]

A substantial number of manuscripts mainly in Chinese, but some in Brahmi and Kharošthi script have been found in the Lop region. These shed light on the history, chronology, and ethnology to the territory. Bergman propared a list of dated documents unearthed at the Lou-Ian station by various expeditions. The bulk of the dated documents fall between A.D. 265–330, two documents found by Huang Wen-pi of the

[3] W. Eberhard, "Notes on the population of the Tun-huang Area," *Sinologica*, Vol. 4, Nr. 2; "The Leading Families of Ancient Tun-huang," *Sinologica*, Vol. 4, Nr. 4.

[4] *Han Shu*, Ch. 94a, 20b, cf. Samolin, *op. cit.*, Ch. III, Note 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, Ch. III, note 23; also Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, 5 Vols. (Oxford, 1921), I, pp. 318–345; E. Chavannes, "Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei Lio," *TP*, 1905, pp. 519–571; A. Conrady, *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-Ian* (Stockholm, 1920), pp. 2, 3; F. Bergman, "Lou-Jan Wood Carvings and Small Finds discovered by Sven Hedin," *BMFEA*, No. 7 (1935), pp. 71, 72.

[6] W. Samolin, "Historical Ethnography of the Tarim Basin Before the Turks," *Palaeologia*, IV (Osaka, 1955), p. 35, note 3.

[7] *Serindia*, I, pp. 326, 340; Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Sino-Swedish Expedition of 1930 date from 49 B.C. and 12–9 B.C. respectively.[8]

Wood carvings consisting mainly of relief work on wooden beams and panels which served as structural members and decorative trim in temples, residences, and official buildings in the Lop region have also been found. The material is toγraq, the desert poplar of East Turkistan.

The decorative motifs are largely in Gandhara style. Ornamental patterns consist of stylized plants, human, and animal representations. Among the latter we find an example of a winged wolflike creature which points to a Scythian version of an ancient Mesopotamian form.[9] A "human" figure is represented by a Buddha or Bodhisattva in low relief, in a style to that which Aurel Stein found in the Khotan region.[10] There is also a figure seated in what Bergman calls "European fashion" wherein the legs are crossed in front of the throne. As Bergman points out, the dress seems to be in Iranian style.[11] It may be added that the pose is likewise Iranian.[12]

The remains from the Lop region provide no examples of wood "sculpture in the round". There is, however, a wood carving described by Bergman which may be considered at this time since it possesses some features which have bearing on our more general problem.[13] This is the upright figure of a man with feet and right arm missing and the rear side left uncarved. The physical type is quite European, the dress consists of a knee length tunic with a belt wider in front than at the sides, the legs encased in trousers. This is typical East Iranian or Sakian.

The principal examples of sculpture in the Lop region were found at Miran, some 75 miles SSW of the Lou-Ian station. The site consisting of a number of shrines and temples contained both life size and colossal Buddha figures in Gandhara style. The material of the sculpture, in accord with the general practice of the region, consisted of stucco. According to Aurel Stein, the presence of a Pothi manuscript in Sanskrit

[8] *Serindia*, I, pp. 413–416; Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 4 Vols. (Oxford, 1928), I, p. 194; Conrady, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–140; Bergman, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–78.

[9] Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 83, Fig. 2, the panel Pl. IV.6, a "very hypothetical" reconstruction given in Fig. 2. It may have represented a variety of gryphon, a common motif in the "scythian" art of the east; cf. C. Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia* (Leningrad, 1932), Pl. IX, II, Pl. IX b shows a wolflike creature with rudimentary stylized "wings" fighting a powerful horned beast.

[10] Bergman, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXX, IV, p. 1; Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1900), II, Pl. LIV, C. II, p. 10.

[11] Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 89, Pl. VI.

[12] *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 279, 280.

[13] Bergman, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 86, Pl. IV.5.

written in Brahmi script suggests a dating prior to the fourth century. The site was evidently abandoned some time between the late fourth early fifth century and the period of Tibetan occupation in the eighth century.[14]

The colossal Buddhas are perhaps the most impressive finds in the Lop region, but the wall paintings found in two small stupas about a mile from the Miran Fort are by far the most interesting. Even a casual examination of the plates would explain the excitement these frescoes evoked on the part of the explorer. Paintings which featured winged angels and a scene of Buddha and his disciples were found in a stupa which Aurel Stein designated M. III. The "plastic" characteristic of the painting is achieved by the use of the chiaroscuro technique, known in classical painting, but hitherto not observed in the old work of India, Central Asia, or the Far East. The treatment of the drapery is likewise a derivative of Hellenistic art.[15] Moreover, the physical types represented are the same as those found in painting of the Roman Orient.

The adjoining mound which also proved to be a stupa, designated Miran M. V by Aurel Stein, likewise contained frescoes. One painting consisted of a dado, all that remained of a leveled side of the stupa. The circular side of the building bore the main panel of the painting. We shall first concern ourselves with Aurel Stein's description of the dado.[16]

> The connecting feature was a broad festoon of wreaths and flowers which youthful supporters carried on their shoulders with an ease and abandon of true Putti. Among them wingless Erotes alternated with young figures wearing the Phrygian cap of a type which, in spite of a certain girlish cast of the face, unmistakably recalled the Mithras worshiped throughout the Roman Empire.
>
> But even more remarkable still were the portraits which filled the hollows of the undulating festoon. In each of them rose a bust of a man or girl, presented in classical outlines and with a freedom of individual expression which made the effect more striking. The types of the men's heads differed. Some were quite Roman in look, others with their peculiar cut of hair and beard suggested barbarian races. But it is clear at a glance that neither they nor the few portraits of beautiful girls interspersed among them, could have any relation to Buddhist worship or mythology.

On the southeast frieze of this temple was an intact panel more than

[14] Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 2 Vols. (London, 1912), I, pp. 453–455; *Serindia*, I, pp. 489, 490, 492.

[15] *Desert Cathay*, I, p. 457, 458, 472, Figs. 142, 143, Pl. IV, V; *Serindia*, I, Sec. III, p. 502 sqq., Pl. XL, XLI, XLII.

[16] *Desert Cathay*, I, pp. 480, 481, Figs. 146–148. Also comment in *Serindia*, I, p. 525. A reproduction of this dado in full color may be found in F. H. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, Pl. III.

eighteen feet long. Stein called this "the most striking I had yet set eyes on in the course of my explorations". Though the scene evidently portrayed one of the Buddha legends, Stein observed:[17]

On a field of true Pompeian red about three feet wide and marked off above and below by a symmetrical succession of narrow bands in black, slaty green, and cream, there extended a procession which at first sight suggested a Roman triumph more than anything else.

On two portions of the panel there are inscriptionsin Kharošthi, which Boyer later deciphered and translated as follows: "This fresco is [the work] of Tita, who received 3,000 Bhammakas [for it]. . . ." Stein added, "I can feel with no hesitation about recognizing in *Tita*, which is the painter's name inflected as a genitive, the familiar western name of 'Titus'."[18] The name of the artist is quite in keeping with the character of the work. Roman influence in Gandhara art and the presence of Roman artists and technicians in India is now well known, but this is considerably farther to the north and east than any of the known foreign settlements of the Romans.[19]

Though small finds dating from palaeolithic and neolithic times have been obtained from the Lop region, we shall concern ourselves with objects dating from the historical period. Among these objects, strap fittings and belt buckles are the most interesting.[20] The buttons are of a type common among the Ordos bronzes and those so well distributed throughout the "Scythian World" and the Caucasus.[21] Neither the

[17] *Desert Cathay*, I, p. 486. Later, on suggestion of Foucher, Stein notes the scene represents a portion of the King Vassantara legend, one of the hundreds of "Jatakas" or "Stories of the Buddha's former births", p. 490.

[18] *Serindia*, I, p. 530, also note 2; *Desert Cathay*, I, pp. 491, 492.

[19] The principal controversies surrounding the chronology of Gandhara art have been discussed elsewhere (*Turkisation*, Ch. IV, note 13, pp. 142, 143). It suffices here to note three of the more recent articles which ably summarize the present state of our knowledge: B. Rowland jr., "The Hellenistic tradition in Northwestern India," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, pp. 1–10; H. Buchthal, "The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1942–43 (London, 1944), pp. 21–30; H. Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhara* (Paris, 1950). A Roman settlement on the northwestern borderland of China was identified by Dubs as *Li-ch'ien* in present Kansu province, H. H. Dubs, "A Roman City in Ancient China," *China Society Sinological Series No. 5* (London, 1957). For a comment on Dubs' reconstruction see review by Prof. B. Szcześniak, *JAOS*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (1957), pp. 286, 287. If the Titus of the inscription was indeed a Roman from Li-ch'ien, which was no great distance from Miran, the very Roman un-Indian character of the painting is easily understood.

[20] For buckles and buttons, Bergman, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 107, Figs. 6–8; Conrady, *op. cit.*, Tafel III.

[21] For comparisons see J. A. C. Andersson, "Hunting Magic and the Animal Style,"

buttons nor the buckles represent the earlier Scythian features of the steppe tradition, but rather belong to type called "Sarmatian" representing the "Late Animal Style". Bergman suggests the Hsiung-nu as bearers of this culture. This is possible, but as far as we know there were no Hsiung-nu settlements in the area. The Hsiung-nu were only occasional intruders among a population related to the Wu-sun and Yüeh-chih. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish between the so-called Hunnic and Sarmatian or Sakian elements of this art.[22]

The only examples of weapons and armor in the Lop region consist of arrowheads and leather armor scales of the type used by the heavy cavalry of "Outer Iran". Each type of find presents some interesting features. Sven Hedin uncovered seven arrowheads, Aurel Stein many more. The arrowheads are in three general types: leaf shaped with socket, three winged with socket, triangular with tang. Hedin's collection included one of the first, two of the second and four of the third. Stein's included one of the first, and five of the third. The first is a form known from the earliest European Bronze Age, at which time it was generally used for spearheads.[23] It first appears as an arrowhead in Hallstatt culture,[24] it is found in Siberia,[25] Mongolia, and in China.[26]

BMFEA, No. 4, pp. 221–315, P.l X, p. 5, XI, p. 4, 5, XII, p. 4, XXIX, p. 1b; A. M. Tallgren, "L'époque dite d'Ananino," *SMYA*, Vol. 31, Fig. 110.

[22] Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 108. That art which appeared among the early Altains showed clear western influences and was closely associated with that of the Pontic Scythians. There is no reason to assume that the Pazyryk folk belonged to the same ethnic group as the Noin Ola folk, who, we have reason to believe, were Hsiung-nu. On the other hand, Scythian influences in the Pazyryk burials are so strong as to justify their inclusion in a study of the "Scythian World" at least in a wider sense, cf. T. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* (London, 1957). The physical types protrayed on textiles and felts are definitely europeanoid, cf. С. И. Руденко, Культура населения Горного Алтая В Скифское Время (Moscow-Leningrad, 1953), Tabl. XCX, CXIV, CXVII. Fig. 196, p. 354. Since the burials are dated V–IV century B.C., they antedate the Hsiung-nu. The Pazyryk period in the Altai is treated by С. В. Киселев, Древняя История Южсной Сибири (Moscow, 1951), Part II, Ch. VI.

The term "Late Animal Style" for the art which was more characteristic of the Sarmatians, and through them the art of the migration period, was given currency by M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 14, 129, 139, cf. G. von Merhart, *Bronzezeit am Jenissei* (Wien, 1929), pp. 120, 121.

[23] Bergman, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102; *Innermost Asia*, III, Pl. XXXIII, L. 1.05.

[24] M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, V, Taf, 18, 19; O. Janse, "Quelques antiquités chinoises d'un charactère Hallstattien," *BMFEA*, No. 2, pp. 177–184, Pl. II.4.

[25] A. Heikel, "Antiquités de la Sibérie Occidentale," *Mém. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, IV (Helsingfors, 1894), pp. 55, 57, Pl. XII, n. 4, 15; Fr. Martin, *L'âge du bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk* (Stockholm, 1893), Pl. 26, pp. 6–11.

[26] Two specimens from Chahar and Honan and several from undetermined parts of China and Mongolia are at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 102, n. 3, 4.

The second or three-winged type consists of relatively short heads with sockets which barely protrude beyond the ribs or wings. The wings themselves are cut back so as to form barbs. At the base of the socket is a small round hole evidently for the pin which secured the head to the shaft. This type has been called "Graeco-Scythian",[27] though "Scythian" would perhaps be more appropriate.[28] They were common in Hungary, South and East Russia, Siberia, and the northern borders of China. Ebert dates the South Russian finds c. 500 B.C.[29]

The furtunate discovery of three well preserved bodies of the indigenous population: a young man, a young girl, and a middle aged man provides us with information about the physical type represented by the ancient population of the Lop region. Aurel Stein, who discovered the bodies, remarked that the non-Chinese character of the bodies was apparent from the manner of burial alone. The well preserved features of the three bodies clearly showed their racial type, all three were representative of Homo Alpinus, similar to the Lopliks of today.[30]

The manuscripts from the Lop region derive mainly from the Lou-Ian station, a Chinese military settlement with a supporting native population. The documentary material is both in Chinese and the native language which used the Kharoṣṭhi script. In one document the native ruler is styled "maharaja", a title used by the Kušans after their conquest of northern India.[31] The language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents is a form of Saka, as one might expect along the south rim of the Tarim Basin, but it has some peculiar phonological features which link it with Tokharian. It also has some Indo-European forms not attested in Khotan Saka or the two Tokharian dialects of the north.[32] This is what may be expected in a region inhabited by Issedones and Scythians.[33]

[27] M. Ebert, "Ausgrabungen auf dem Gute Maritzyn, Gub. Cherson (Süd-Russland)," Pt. II, *Präehistorische Zeitschrift*, 1913, p. 12; Janse, *op. cit.*, p. 181, Pl. IV.9; Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 102, Pl. X.2,3.

[28] The three-winged arrowhead is a characteristic of the Scythian culture complex even in regions where there was little or no direct Hellenic influence, cf., С. П. Толстов, По следам древне хорезмийской цивилизации (Moscow-Leningrad, 1948), Fig. 21.6 (old Scythian), Fig. 23.1 (K'ang-chü), Fig. 365.8 (Kušan). Also note Fig. 365.5, a fragment of a human figurine in a pose suggestive of the "erotic monkey figurines" of Khotan, cf., *Serindia*, I, p. 99, IV, Pl. III.

[29] Ebert, "Ausgrabungen," pp. 102, 103.

[30] *Innermost Asia*, I, pp. 264–266.

[31] *Desert Cathay*, I, p. 368. This title is of course not native to the Kušans.

[32] T. Burrow, "Tokharian elements in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan," *JRAS*, 1935, p. 667; also vocabulary in A. J. van Windekens, *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens* (= *Bibliothèque du Muséon*, T. 11) (1941). Windekens lists some forms from the Kharoṣṭhi texts of Lou-Ian as "Krorainic".

[33] Samolin, "Historical Ethnography," pp. 38–40.

C. THE KHOTAN REGION

For our purposes the Khotan region will include sites which were within the Khotan sphere of influence. Prior to the advent of the Turks Khotan was the most influential and usually the most powerful state on the south rim of the Tarim Basin.[34] In ancient times Khotan was known as Yotqan, located at a site now locally known as Borazan.[35] From the geographic point of view Khotan was the most favored of the Oasis States since it was located on a huge terrace of fertile loess and watered by the two greatest rivers which carry the drainage of the main K'un-lun range northward into the Tarim Basin. Flanked by formidible deserts on the east and west, it was protected from large scale ethnic invasion.[36] Local tradition maintains the city was founded by Indian chieftains from the Punjab who also introduced Buddhism,[37] though this may be an anachronism referring to later Kušan influence. The population was probably Scythian, the language remained Scythian i.e., Saka, a north-Iranian dialect.[38]

A considerable quantity of manuscript material on wood, paper, and pothi leaves was found in the Khotan region. The scripts include Gupta, Brahmi, Kharošthi, and Chinese. The bulk of the Kharošthi documents were uncovered at Niya, while the Gupta documents were distributed among the sites of Khadalyq, Nazar-toγraq, Farhad-beg Yaylaq, and Qara-Yantaq. The Niya site is in the vicinity of 30 deg. N, 82 deg. 45 min.

[34] There were some periods of domination by powers outside the Tarim Basin and for a short period Khotan was subject to Yarqand, but for the greater part of the first millennium of our era Khotan was the great state of the south, cf. *Turkisation*, pp. 89, 90, 118, 133.

[35] Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, 2 Vols. (New York and London, 1899), II, pp. 744–760; *Ancient Khotan*, I, p. 190; F. Grenard, *J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins mission scientifique dans la haute Asie*, 3 Vols. (Paris, 1897–8), III, pp. 127–134. 137–139. The Chinese name for ancient Khotan is 于 填 GS (97*a*, 375*t*) **giwo-*d'ien*, *Hou Han Shu*, Ch. 118 passim.

[36] *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 137, 138.

[37] J. P. Abel Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan* (Paris, 1820), pp. 37, 38. There is also a tradition of exiled princes from the East who prevailled over the westerners i.e., Indians, though this may refer to the later conquest by the Qara-Qytay.

[38] The Scythian Kharaunae were found along the K'un-lun as far as the Lop region, their western extension being undetermined. It is also possible that the easterners of the legend were Chinese, H. W. Bailey, "Handschriften aus Tunhuang," *ZDMG*, Nr. 90, 1936, pp. 573–578. It has been suggested that there is a Tibetan element in the substratum, F. W. Thomas, "Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, IV, P. III," *JRAS*, 1930, p. 297. Thomas holds the ancient language of Khotan prior to the period of the Kharošthi documents was moni-syllabic of the Tibeto-Burmese type. A consideration of Tibetans or Ch'iang 羌 at this early period is a very complicated matter, since the northern Tibetans in the early centuries of our era were not a homogeneous people and the language of the rulers may have differed greatly from that of the general population, cf. F. Grenard, "Haute Asie," *Géographie Universelle*, VIII, p. 363; *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 148, 149.

E, some 165 miles ENE of Khotan. The other four sites are in the vicinity of Čira, Gulaγma, and Dokomo Oases, an area centered roughly at 37 deg. N, 81 deg. E. The use of Kharošthi script points to important political and/or economic relations with Northwest India, where the script was used on coins prior to any known Kharošthi text in Chinese Turkistan by at least two centuries.[39] On general numismatic grounds Aurel Stein was inclined to relate the Sino-Kharošthi coins of Khotan with those of Northwest India.[40]

A number of Chinese documents were discovered at the desert site of Dandan Öilik in the vicinity of 37 deg. 50 min. N, 81 deg. 3 min. E, almost midway between the Yurung-qaš and the Keria Darya. Eight of these documents were dated, extending from A.D. 768 to A.D. 790.[41] On the other hand, Chinese documents from the Niya site are dated A.D. 269 and c. A.D. 324.[42] The Sanskrit documents in Gupta script consist of Buddhist texts and cannot be dated. The documents in Khotan Saka are tentatively dated in the seventh and eighth centuries.[43]

Wood carvings, almost all decorative detail on architectural fragments and furniture, were found at Niya, Dandan-Öilik, and Khadalyq. Large wooden pillars with bold lathe-turned mouldings were also found at the Endere Fort at app. 37 deg. 42 min. N, 84 deg. E, a site actually outside the Khotan sphere, and which played a role prior and during the Hephthalite period, and under the T'ang in the mid seventh and late eighth centuries.[44]

[39] For examples, R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Récherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchanes* (Le Caire, 1946), Ch. IV; P. Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India* (London, 1886). On the nature and distribution of the documents, *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 366–368; F. W. Thomas, "Some notes on Central Asian Kharoshthi documents," *BSOS*, Vol. XI, Pt. 3 (1945), pp. 532, 533.

[40] *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 203, 204.

[41] *Ibid.*, I, Appendix A, p. 533.

[42] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 370, 537.

[43] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 256–258.

[44] Aurel Stein suggests the Endere Fort had two periods of occupation. First, a period which ended in the fourth century A.D. and second, a period which extended from c. A.D. 660 to c. A.D. 790, *Serindia*, I, pp. 282–286. On the other hand there may be reason to associate the fort with the Hephthalites. Until the destruction of the Hephthalite state by the Turks some time after A.D. 559, the entire region seems to have been under Hephthalite control. Before attacking the Hephthalites it was necessary for the Turks to clear their rear. By 559 they attacked and defeated the T'u-yü-hun, *Pei Shih*, Ch. 99, 5a. The date is not clear but it is prior to A.D. 559 明帝二年. The *Pei-Shih* credits Ta-t'ou Qaγan with the conquest of Khotan and the attack on Persia, Ch. 99, 8a. This is the Tardu of the Byzantines and thus the son of Ištämi, the Shih-tien-mi of the Chinese: *T'ang Shu*, Ch. 215b, 3a; Menander, *FHG*, IV, p. 247. For the genealogy of the West Turks see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kieu (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), pp. 3, 4.

Aurel Stein maintained there was a remarkable similarity between the wood carvings and paintings at Khadalyq and Dandan-öilik.[45] The wood carvings of Khadalyq bear the clear influence of Gandhara style.[46] On the other hand, the Niya site was the most productive in number of carvings. It appears that composite monsters, which Gandhara style borrowed from the Ancient Near East, were particularly cherished in the Khotan region.[47]

A distinctive feature of the finds from the Khotan region is the quantity and style of terra-cotta figurines which represent both human and animal forms, the monkey being a particular favorite. The physical type represented in the human figures is definitely "European". This is noticeable in the incidental figures, since the hieratic sculpture is too conventionalized to be of any use in ethnic studies.[48]

Both camels and horses are represented in the collection. The former are the two-humped Bactrian camels, the latter resemble the short-legged large-headed Przewalsky horse rather than the Iranian thoroughbred or T'ien Ma. Stirrups are not shown, but, as Montel suggests, this may be due to the summary treatment or age of the figures. On the other hand, an example by Montel (Fig. 23b) shows the rider with his leg bent as though a stirrup were used rather than with the "straight legged" position so characteristic of Sasanian mounted figures.

While a large portion of the figures appear to be pressed from moulds, Montel notes that the monkeys as a rule seem to be modeled individually, and adds: "This has naturally tended to increase the vicacity and variety in types and expression." He is at a loss to explain the predominence of

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[44] Aurel Stein, among others, observed that the Endere site was in what Hsüan-tsang called the "Old Tukhara Country". This would appear to be an association with the former seat of the Great Yüeh-chih and/or the related Tokhars. This is unlikely since Hsüan-tsang would thus be referring to a situation which obtained prior to the journey of Chang-ch'ien. The Tukharas in question were a people who had but recently been dispossessed, i.e., the Hephthalites. This matter is considered at greater length elsewhere, *Turkisation*, Appendices II, III, cf. *Serindia*, I, pp. 286–298; *Desert Cathay*, I, pp. 311, 312.

[45] *Serindia*, I, pp. 162–164; IV, Pl. XIV, Kha. ix 14, Pl. XLVII, Kha. ix, 16. The wall paintings will be considered below.

[46] *Ibid.*, I, p. 162.

[47] Since western elements in Gandhara art are primarily of Roman inspiration, it may be questioned whether the composite animals suggestive of the Ancient Near East came directly from the west. It is more likely that these creatures represent a reflection of northeastern Scythian art, e.g., Pazyryk and Noin Ola. For examples, *Desert Cathay*, I, p. 292, Figs. 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 98, Pl. III for a panoramic view of the site.

[48] *Serindia*, I, p. 98; G. Montel, "Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collections from Khotan," *BMFEA*, No. 7, 1935, pp. 178–186, Figs. 18–22 incl.

monkey figurines, though he comments on the importance of the monkey in the art and legend of both China and India.[49] Aurel Stein suggests the character of the monkey figurines indicates the mental attitude of the ancient Khotanese, who were proverbially licentious. Hsüan-tsang, on the other hand, had some kind words for them.[50] Life in ancient Khotan seems to have possessed an urbanity and sophistication that earned to respect of the Chinese.

With the exception of the painted panel to be discussed presently, the examples of painting are all fragments of frescoes, with Khadalyq and Dandan-Öilik as the principal sites. In the house designated *b* by Sven Hedin, wall paintings in red and black lines on a ground of yellow were found. One painting represents a woman sitting in prayer, another shows a man offering something on a dish. The physical types are europeanoid. In house *c* there are representations of women standing on pedestals, Buddha images, garlands, women holding garlands, all showing fine workmanship.[51] Aurel Stein stresses the close affinity between the examples of painting from the sites at Dandan-Öilik and Khadalyq, and observes that the style of painting in ancient Khotan had great influence on the Buddhist painting of T'ang China.[52]

The painted panel noted above is of particular interest.[53] The obverse is a figure that merely reproduces Indian models. The reverse, however, is in striking contrast. We find here a figure which while representing a Buddhist divinity, as indicated by nimbus, vesica, and four arms with attributes, is distinctly Persian from head-dress, and tunic with sword suspended from belt, to boots in tooled leather. The pose of the figure seated on the dias is that found in later Persian miniatures. Aurel Stein's impression of the Persian character of the figure was strengthened by his later discovery of the Rustam fresco at Koh-i-Khwaja, representing the legendary hero of Sakastan. He then came to the conclusion that the mysterious figure on the Dandan-Öilik panel was a deified representation of the national hero of the Iranian epos. The three-headed figure on the obverse of the Dandan-Öilik panel is paralleled by a three-headed figure

[49] G. Montel, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–192.

[50] *Serindia*, I, p. 99; *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 139–142; S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhsti Records of the Western World*, 2 Vols. (London, 1882), II, p. 309. Also see reference to Kušan figures in note 28 above.

[51] Montel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 196, 197, Fig. 30.

[52] *Serindia*, I, p. 165. In note 7 Aurel Stein refers to the influence of the Khotan school of painting which was brought to the Court by Wei-ch'ih I-shang, a member of the Khotanese royal family.

[53] *Ancient Khotan*, II, Plates LX, LXI, Painted panel D. VII. 6.

juxtaposed with the deified Rustam on the Sakastan fresco.[54]

Another class of objects peculiar to Khotan is represented by intaglio seals. One such seal, that of Athena Promachos, became the "tagma" of the volumes relating to Aurel Stein's explorations in Central Asia. Other classical motifs involve Zeus, Heracles with club and lion skin, and finally a direct imitation of the *Genius populi Romani* as it appears on the coins of Diocletian.[55]

Among the miscellaneous small finds in metal, stone and ivory, there are small bronze objects related to the Eurasian Animal Style. These are usually small clothing or belt mountings and armlet fragments.[56]

D. THE NORTHERN SITES, KUČA, QARAŠAHR, TURFAN

a. *General.* The northern sites are grouped about three principal centers, Kuča (ancient Kuei-tzu), Qarašahr (Issedon Scythica of Ptolemy, ancient Yen-ch'i of the Chinese), and Turfan (ancient Qočo, Kao-ch'ang of the Chinese). Except at Turfan, where the actual capital of Uyγur and pre-Uyγur times was excavated, the sites consist of religious centers and shrines in the form of caves and temples. The interrelationship of style is much more apparent in the north than in the two southern sites already discussed.

The character of the material is also somewhat different from that in the south. The small finds are relatively less important while the sculpture and wall painting is present in much greater quantity and variety. This is not only due to the fact that the northern sites were worked more intensively, but also because the northern states were in closer contact as a result of the more regular distribution of the water courses thus encouraging more rapid development of style.

Two groups of northern sites, one in the vicinity of Hami (ancient I-wu) and the other south of Kelpin centering about 79 deg. E, 40 deg. N, are mentioned in passing since they date from the later Uyγur period and present little material that is not of Uyγur or East Asian origin. Though the Kelpin sites are situated in a region which was populated from Han to Uyγur times, the material thus far uncovered has little bearing on the ethnographic development of the north.[57]

[54] *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 917. For a systematic treatment of the problem of the three-headed deity see W. Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit* (Bonn, 1948), for comment, O. Maenchen-Helfen, *JAOS*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (1952), pp. 127–129.

[55] *Desert Cathay*, I, pp. 284–296, Figs. 94–97; *Ancient Khotan*, I, p. 354, II, Pl. LXXI. 13, 14, LXXII.

[56] Montel, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87, Pl. IV.2, 4, 6–11.

[57] *Desert Cathay*, II, pp. 250, 427; *Serindia*, III, pp. 1154, 1156.

The plastic and pictorial art of the north represents four or five rather distinct phases of development. Grünwedel first proposed such a classification for the Ming-öi site at Qumtura in the Kuča region,[58] and a similar one for the Turfan sites.[59] Von Le Coq generalized Grünwedel's pattern for the entire north rim of the Tarim Basin in a system which recognizes five phases.[60]

1. Gandhara Style: with many variations, some with strong antique elements, others with strong Persian or Indian admixture.
2. Style of "knights with long swords"; similarity to Indo-Scythian coins suggests "Indo-Scythian" classification. This is Grünwedel's "early local style" that of the "Tokharian" donors.[61]
3. Old Turkish Style: already a mixed type – floral ornamentation dominant, inscriptions in Chinese and Central Asiatic Brahmi.
4. Late Turkish Style: true Uyγur style, best represented at the Turfan sites, a complete syncretic style.
5. Lamaistic Style: truly Tibetan.

The correlation between the phases of artistic style and chronology appears to be as follows:

Style	*Period*
Gandhara	Early Six Dynasties
Tokharian donors	T'o-pa Wei to Early T'ang
Old Turkish	Early T'ang to Uyγur
Late Turkish	Turfan Uyγur Period
Lamaistic	Mongol Period.

b. *The Kuča Region.* Kuča was an important Oasis State from Han time. Its importance was no doubt due to its geographic situation on a wide alluvial fan watered by the Muz-art Darya and the Kuča Darya. The suitability of the region for agriculture is enhanced by the presence of large lateral valleys in the T'ien Shan north of the watershed. These provide excellent grazing ground-tracts possessed by the Wu-sun in Han time. The proximity of good grazing to good agricultural country facilitated the transition from a predominantly herding economy to one

[58] A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 5, 6.

[59] A. Grünwedel, "Bericht über die archaeologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–1903," *Abh. kgl. bayerischen Ak. d. Wiss.*, P.-H. Kl., Bd. 14 (1909), p. 175.

[60] A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike Mittelasiens*, 7 Vols. (Berlin, 1922–33), III, p. 22.

[61] The present writer chooses to distinguish between Indo-Scythians and Tokharians.

in which agriculture was primary. As the trade routes between China and the West developed, this became an important re-supply center. As Aurel Stein put it: "Kuča must always have been a considerable trade nucleus upon the great Asian high road which passed through it, skirting the feet of the T'ien Shan and linking China with the Oxus region and Western Asia in general."[62] He also emphasized its strategic importance which made it the political and military center of the Four-Garrisons in T'ang time.[63] The importance of the Kuča region was already recognized in the time of the Former Han when the Protector General of the Western Regions had his seat at Wu-lei (烏壘) which Aurel Stein locates near present day Bakhar (approx. 82 deg. 20 min. E, 42 deg. 8 min. N).[64] Thus Kuča may have been a native settlement which grew up about a Chinese castellum. As an Oasis State, Kuča first appears in the *Hou Han Shu*.[65] The majority of the northern states probably owed their origin to Chinese castella established to protect the trade route along the north rim of the Tarim Basin from Hunnic attacks, a parallel to the origin of many Danubian cities which grew up about the posts on the Roman Limes.[66]

The wall paintings in the Kuča region are found for the greater part at two principal sites, the Ming-öl at Qumtura and the Ming-öi at Qyzyl, both located on the Muz-art Darya. In these paintings there are three principal elements from the ethnological standpoint. One element is the representation of deities, this has little bearing on the problem at hand since they are so highly stylized. Secondly, the guardian figures, in spite of a strong archaizing tendency particularly in the later works, to some extent do reflect the material culture particularly with respect to arms and armor. Finally, and for our purposes the most important, there are the secular representations of the donors.

Grünwedel points out that the religious figures developed from the forms of Gandhara sculpture. On the other hand, the influence of the wall

[62] *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 805.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 806.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 795, 796. In *T'ang Shu*, Ch. 221a, 9a, we find various characters for Kuča given as follows:

龜 茲 GS (985*a*, 966*a*) **kiwəg/kjwi – *tsiəg/tsi*

丘 茲 GS (994*a*, do) **k'iug/k'iəu* – do

屈 茲 GS (496*k*, do) **k'iwət/k'iuət* – do

All suggest a sound similar to Kuča.

[65] Ch. 118, 19a.

[66] A similar situation evidently obtained in the Turfan region. In the *Han Shu* only the Anterior Ch'ê-shih are associated with the area, while in the *Hou Han Shu* it is noted that a Chinese garrison was established at Lo-chung by Pan Yung after A.D. 123, Ch. 77, 23a, b; Samolin, *Turkisation*, Ch. III, notes 112–116.

painting of northern India cannot be ignored. In these paintings Grünwedel recognized what von Le Coq later classified as styles 1–3, namely: the Gandhara style in direct imitation of Indian models,[67] the early local style of the Tokharian donors of "knights with long swords",[68] and the later local style, i.e., the "early Turkish style".[69]

Examples of frescoes with Tokharian donors predominate, while the early Turkish style is rare. The striking feature of the Tokharian style is the very European appearance of the donors, not only for their northern European physical type, but also their pose and costume. The masculine attire is that of Sasanid Persia, which had considerable influence on the style of mediaeval Europe.[70] Von Le Coq expressed his reaction to the portrayal of the Tokharian donors as follows:[71]

> At first sight the benefactor's pictures remind us vividly of pictorial representations in Gothic mortuary chapels. There men stand with legs far apart, balancing themselves on the tips of their toes, in their long coats made of brocade or wonderfully embroidered, with a three cornered cape. They wear the knight's belt with metal discs, and hanging from this is a long straight sword with a handle in the form of a cross and a rounded or flat pommel amazingly like the European swords of the Carlovingian and early Gothic period. On the other side they wear a daggar, scythian in shape, and near it frequently a pocket handkerchief, which was not known in Italy before the sixteenth century. Their hair was parted and cut in a definite style, its color in some paintings being white, in others red. The color of the iris of the eye is never painted, so that we do not know if the hair has its natural shade or is powdered or tinted with henna.
>
> Near the knights stand the ladies, all in tight bodices, cut low in front, with bell sleeves and little bell trimmings on the pointed fronts of the bodices. They wear long trained skirts, and their bearing reminds us strongly of that affected posture with shoulders drawn back and body forced forward which we often see in European paintings from Holbein to Van Dyke and even if, on closer inspection the likeness to our Gothic painting disappears, the similarity in the woman's dress and men's weapons is striking.

At the Kiriš site some 27 miles ENE of Kuča, which is still an inhabited locality, since Kiriš is situated in a pleasant valley, the site of an old fortified post, Grünwedel came upon the ruins of stupas, decorated caves,

[67] A. Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, 2 Vols. (Berlin, 1920), I, p. 50 par. 1,33.

[68] Grünwedel, *Kultstätten*, p. 10, Figs. 12, 13, p. 12, Figs. 17–20, pp. 148, 149, Figs. 336–338; Von Le Coq, *Spätantike*, IV, p. 8, Pl. IV; A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkistan* (London, 1928), pp. 116, 125 (line drawings), Pl. 36, 44.

[69] *Kultstätten*, pp. 28, 29, Fig. 56.

[70] *Alt-Kutscha*, I, p. 37, par. 1, p. 29 par 1, p. 41 par. 1, p. 31: A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1925).

[71] *Buried Treasures*, pp. 123, 124. For Grünwedel's comment on the pose of the female donors, *Alt-Kutscha*, 1 : 27, par 29.

and other structures which show clear signs of deliberate destruction with ashes and other indications of incendiary application everywhere. In small side valleys Grünwedel found caves in somewhat better state of preservation.[72] He classified the paintings at this site as a transitional type from early to late Turkish style. Some caves show a style akin to that of the temple at Ming-öi Qumtura, others are definitely in the late Turkish (Uyγur) style.[73] In the "Tierfries" hall there are interesting variations in the dress of the donors. The knights still wear the bordered jackets in Sasanian style with the characteristic collars and lapels, but the pointed caps of two figures and the general décor of the jackets leave the impression of Byzantine and Boyar Russian figures.[74] In passing, it may be noted that at Kiriš there are two forms of the dragon similar to those common in European heraldry.[75]

The principal sites at which sculpture was found are located at Ming-öi Qumtura and Ming-öi Qyzyl. No intact examples were uncovered, since they were probably located at ground level and thus more readily destroyed. Since they all seem to have been religious figures in Gandhara style, they would contain little of interest for the purposes of the present study.[76]

c. *The Qarašahr Region.* The sites in the Qarašahr region, like those at Kuča, are grouped in clusters over a comparatively large area. The principal clusters are as follows: Ming-öi at Šorčuq and Khora at 86 deg. 3 min. E. 42 deg. 4 min N. Qarašahr (ancient Yen-ch'i) was an important settlement in the north from Han time. It may be identified with Issedon Scythica of Ptolemy.[77] Like Kuča, Qarašahr was destined to play a prominent role in the history of the Tarim Basin on account of favorable geographic conditions which permitted considerable expansion of its cultivated area. On the other hand, there is a natural route of invasion from the north through the Iron Gate defile in the vicinity of Khora which could only be defended by a large garrison. The defense was rendered more difficult by the presence of the Ylduz plateau to the immediate north. This provided excellent grazing and thus attracted nomads who might at any time force the pass in a surprise move. Aurel Stein pointed out that since the pass permitted moisture laden winds to cross from the

[72] *Kultstätten*, p. 181.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 185, Figs. 426, 427, for Byzantine and Boyar types, Fig. 426.
[75] *Alt-Kutscha*, I, pp. 34, 35.
[76] For an example of Kuča sculpture see *Buried Treasures*, Pl. 39.
[77] Samolin, "Historical Ethnography," p. 36.

north side of the T'ien Shan, the Qarašahr region is less arid than other portions of the Tarim Basin. Naturally the presence of moisture in addition to other erosive factors was responsible for the greater deterioration of the remains from natural causes than elsewhere in East Turkistan.[78]

The finds in the Qarašahr region, though more varied than at Kuča, still focus our attention on the wall paintings. These represent a transition from style 3 to style 4, i.e., from the Kök Turk to the Uyγur period.[79]

At this point it may be observed that the Buddhist sects in the Tarim Basin were distributed in reverse order to that in the Buddhist world elsewhere. The dominant sect in the north was Hinayana, that in the south Mahayana.[80] Though Foucher questioned the possibility of establishing a clear distinction between Mahayana and Hinayana in Buddhist art,[81] Aurel Stein made such an attempt in his discussion of the wall paintings in Chamber xiii at Ming-öi Šorčuq.[82] The physical types represented there are East Asiatic, similar to the Uyγur donors at Turfan, the Tokharian types were altogether absent.

Another feature of painting in style 4 is the clear indication of Chinese influence in the pictorial representation. This is evident in the treatment of the Uyγur donors which not only displays the fine line technique of Chinese art but also in the individual treatment of the figures. These characteristics will be considered in connection with the Turfan paintings. Chinese influence is not restricted to the representations of the Uyγur

[78] *Serindia*, III, pp. 237, 238, 1178–80, 1186, 1228.

[79] These correspond to Grünwedel's style 2b and 3, *Kultstätten*, p. 193. Our tentative style-period correlation is supported by the presence of numerous Chinese coins, evidently deposited as votive gifts at the bases of the images. None belong to issues later than the eighth century, *Serindia*, III, p. 1187. Aurel Stein noted that the Nien-Hao *Chien Chung* (建中) A.D. 780–783 is also the latest found on T'ang coins from sites in the Khotan region: *Serindia*, III, p. 1187 note 10; *Ancient Khotan*, I, 575 sqq. On the other hand, Uyγur manuscript remains and sgraffiti indicate the shrines continued to be visited at least as late as the earlier period of Uyγur domination. As Aurel Stein put it: "Thus the idea suggests itself that this wholesale burning may have been caused by iconociastic zeal during one of the early Mohammedan invasions following the conversion of the Karlik Turks in the second half of the tenth century. The fact that the temple ruins of the Khora site, higher up in the valley of the Khaidu-gol . . . have also been destroyed by fire seems to support this conclusion." *Serindia*, III, p. 1187.

[80] S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsang* (London, 1888), p. 203.

[81] A. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1915, 1918), II, p. 386.

[82] For a detailed description of the find and its content, *Serindia*, III, pp. 1196, 1213–15. In this connection Aurel Stein points out that a fresco fragment shows a monk writing in a manner that suggests the use of a brush. This is also suggested by the Uyγur word for writing – *bitig*, a deverbal noun in *-g* from *bit-i* "to write" where *bit* is Chinese *Pi* (筆) **piet* GS (502*d*) for a writing brush, cf., A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Gramma-*

donors, even the religious figures begin to show the influence of Chinese style and very likely Chinese workmanship.[83]

As might be expected, the sculpture uncovered at the sites in the Qarašahr region is more conservative in character than the wall painting. There are many reasons for this. One, perhaps, that plastic representation always lagged behind painting since the latter was inspired by the brush technique of the elegant and highly respected caligraphic art, while on the other hand, to this day, there is a tendency to regard sculpture as "mechanics work". Another factor in the conservatism of the plastic art, as Aurel Stein pointed out, was the use of moulds which permitted the reproduction and repair of statues for prolonged period.[84]

In addition to statues in Gandhara style there are figures of secular personages in naturalistic treatment and also Hellenistic grotesque heads.[85] Along with these classical vestiges there are also Mahayana and Tantric influences.[86] A fine example of a realistic-fantastic combination is a horsehead from Šorčuq which was on display in Berlin. This was a plaster cast from a mould found in a temple workshop by Bartus, a member of the German expedition of 1906. Von Le Coq commented on this object: "It indicates a remarkable, almost demonic impression and darkly suggests animal representations of the art of South Siberia, though in perhaps, possibly Chinese variation."[87]

d. *Turfan Region.* Turfan apparently began as the seat of a Chinese resident officer with the Anterior Ch'ê-shih, and later grew into a city with a native ruler during the period of the "Six Dynasties".[88] The actual site

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tik, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), p. 303. It was preserved in Middle Turkish, cf. B. Atalay, ed. of Kašγari, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk*, 5 Vols. (Ankara, 1945–48), IV, pp. 96, 97; and in Quman, K. Grønbech, *Codex Cumanicus* (Copenhagen, 1936), fol. 30a.

[83] *Serindia*, II, pp. 1197, 1198, IV, Pl. CXXVII.

[84] *Serindia*, III, p. 1194.

[85] *Desert Cathay*, II, . 270'

[86] *Serindia*, III, p. 1195.

[87] *Spätantike*, V, p. 9, Pl. 5.

[88] The *Pei Shih* account of the "Western Regions" lists Ch'ieh-mo 且末 as a place in the Turfan region. Chavannes identified this with Chü-mo of Hsüan-tsang 沮末 located east of Khotan, *Documents*, *T-K*, pp. 30, 306. This is in accord with the location given in Ch. 97 of *Pei Shih* but nevertheless in error. The passage on Ch'ieh-mo is brief, but contains the proper names Chü-chu 沮朱 and An-chou 安周 which appear in the obscure Chinese temple inscription at Idyqutšahri, O. Franke, "Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idiqutšahri bei Turfan," *Abh. kgl. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.* P.-H. Kl. 1907, Anhang, p. 5; O. Franke, "Das Datum der chinesischen Tempelinschrift von Turfan," *TP*, 1909, pp. 222–228; P. Pelliot, "L'inscription chinoise d'Idiqut-šahri," *TP*, 24, 1926, pp. 247–251. Other references to the Turfan region in Ch. 97 of the *Pei Shih* are in sections designated Ch'ê-shih Kuo 車師國, Kao-ch'ang 高昌 which is

of the settlement varied from time to time. This is indicated by the various groups of ruins. In pre-T'ang, or more properly pre-Uyγur, time the site was Yar-khoto, then known as Chiao Ho (且彌, converging streams).[89] The Uyγur capital was located at Qara-khoja and was known by its inhabitants as Yeyq-qut Šahri, "the city of His Blessed Majesty". Yar-khoto is some 5 miles NW of present day Qona-šahr Turfan, Qara-khoja is some 22 miles ESE.[90]

Other sites in the Turfan area are Toyu2, some 7 miles east of Qara-khoja, Bezeklik, Murtuq, Singim, all beyond the ridge just north of Qara-khoja, and consist of a series of cave monastaries and temples cut into the sides of the gorge of the Qara-khoja river. These sites proved to be exceptionally rich in wall paintings, sculpture, and above all in manuscript material.[91] Finally there are two isolated sites, one at Chong Hassar, some 13 miles SSW of Lükčün, app. 89 deg. 34 min. E, 42 deg. 37 min. N, the other at Kičlik Hassar some two miles east of Chong Hassar. The former contains the ruins of an old fortified post, the latter a temple and shrine.[92]

The principal feature of the wall painting in the Turfan region is the degree to which Chinese influence is evident. This is apparent in the

Qočo, P. Pelliot, "Kao-Tch'ang, Qočo, Houo-Tchou et Qara-Khodja," *JA*, 1912, p. 581, and Ch'ieh-mi (處蜜), *Innermost Asia*, II, for location. All these states were in former Ch'ê-shih territory, *Documents*, *T-K*, p. 101 note 2.

Most likely Ch'ieh-mi GS (46*a*, 359*m*) 交河 **ts'ia/ts'ia – *miar/mjie* is another transliteration for Ch'u-mi GS (85*a*, 405*a*) **t'io/ts'iwo – *miet/miet* to which *T'ang Shu*, Ch. 221*a*, 8a refers as a Turkish ally of Kao-ch'ang. The temple inscription in question has been assigned the date A.D. 445 by Pelliot, "L'inscription," p. 247.

[89] *Serindia*, III, p. 1167, V, Map 54, gives the location as 42 deg. 56 min. N, 88 deg. 58 min E; *Desert Cathay*, II, p. 362. The bulk of the coins found at this site date from the mid-T'ang period, *Serindia*, III, p. 1168. The local mane at this time was Qočo, rendered by the Chinese in the Sui-T'ang pronunciation as Kao-ts'iang, which is closer to the native form than the reconstructed Chou-Han pronunciation *Kog-t'iang. This is as expected, but is not always the case for foreign terms recorded during the period of the Six Dynasties. There is no reason to believe the name had anything to do with Kušan as Grünwedel assumed, "Bericht," p. 5.

[90] For a list of local place names in the Turfan region and the various forms thereof, Grünwedel, "Bericht," pp. 4, 5, and Katanov, "Письмо Н. О. Катанова изъ Сибири и Восточного Туркестана" (=Записки И. Ак. Наук, St. Pet., 1894, T. 73, Suppl. to No. 8), where one may find 36 different place names at Turfan. A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, 2 Vols. (Berlin, 1913), Text Vol. p. 4 calls Qarakhoja Qočo, strictly speaking this name refers to the pre-Uyγur site at Yar-khoto, *Innermost Asia*, IV, Map 28.

[91] *Serindia*, III, p. 1167; *Desert Cathay*, II, pp. 359–361; *Buried Treasures*, pp. 83–86; *Kultstätten*, p. 224 for sketch of site.

[92] For the location and description of Chong Hassar, *Serindia*, III, p. 1161, Figs. 267, 268, Pl. 50 for plan, Map 59 for location; *Innermost Asia*, IV, Map 28, *Desert Cathay*, II, p. 358, Fig. 261.

technique, particularly in the individual treatment of the donors,[93] the physical type,[94] and the style of the composition,[95] not to speak of inscriptions and manuscripts. Examples similar to the early local style of the Kuča region are not altogether lacking, but they are in a definite minority. The pre-Turkic type becomes the incidental figure.[96]

A unique class of finds in the Turfan region consists of Manichaean fragments. These were the first authentic documents pertaining to the doctrine of this strange religion whose adherents were persecuted from Western Europe to Eastern Iran, and for a time found refuge among the Uyγurs.[97] Grünwedel, who was inconsistent on the point, on one occasion held that the Manichaeans had no temples and thus no wall painting.[98] On an other occasion he mentioned a fresco fragment showing two Manichaean electi.[99] Von Le Coq published an example of a Manichaean fresco fragment from "Ruin K" which was evidently the royal temple of the Uyγur kings. This presents a "portrait" of Mani surrounded by electi.[100] Von Le Coq observed:[101]

The discovery of this picture put an end to the view that the Manichaeans had no churches, (nor religious buildings) adorned with paintings; this hall which was but one of several similar rooms comprising the building, was probably one of the "fasting halls" of this remarkable religion.

[93] Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, I, p. 28 compares the stylized treatment of the donors in the Tokharian frescoes at Kuša with the individualized treatment of Uyγurs in the Turfan frescoes.

[94] *Kultstätten*, p. 267, Fig. 551; p. 310, Fig. 628; *Spätantike*, III, p. 26, Pl. XVII, where the East Asiatic types dominate, especially the representatives of the 12 animal cycle on the right, also p. 39, Pl. XI for an East Asiatic type at Qumtura indicating the diffusion of this change in representation from east to west, also *Chotscho*, Pl. 8.

[95] *Kultstätten*, pp. 233–240, Figs. 505–507, 511–513; "Bericht," p. 40, Fig. 35.

[96] *Chotscho*, Table 10b, here we observe types which appear to be Indo-Iranian rather than Turkish in what von Le Coq calls the "older style". In the Pranidhi Scenes I, II, V, VI from Temple 9 at Bezeklik we observe quite a variety of types. In scene I (*Chotscho*, Pl. 19) we note a central Buddha in T'ang style, definitely an East Asiatic type, flanked on the right by four figures, the three lower not in the least East Asiatic; the second has a long nose and *blue eyes*, the third is light skinned, with a prominent nose suggesting an Iranian, the lower figure is darker with narrow brown eyes and a long nose (Turk?). As for the four figures on the left, the top is East Asiatic, the next three appear to be Iranian, the two in the center having wavy hair. In Scene V (*Chotscho*, Pl. 21) the left figure in the top row is *long-nosed*, *blue-eyed*, and *red-haired*. In Scene VI (*Chotscho*, Pl. 22) the figure on the lower right wears Iranian costume (Tokharian donor style), has *red hair*, a *long nose*, and *blue eyes*.

[97] *Spätantike*, II, p. 21.

[98] "*Bericht*," p. 173.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 58, Fig. 41.

[100] *Chotscho*, Pl. I; *Buried Treasures*, p. 56, Pl. 8.

[101] *Buried Treasures*, p. 59, Pl. 9.

There is no dispute as to whether or not the Manichaeans had their "sacred books". The book art and technique of illustration and calligraphy was developed to a very high degree, as a matter of fact Mani is remembered among the Persians as a painter rather than the martyred religious leader, being known as "Mani the painter", or the "Painter of Čin".'[102] Contrary to the tradition that Chinese prisoners taken after the defeat on the Talas in A.D. 751 transmitted the art of paper-making to the West, Le Coq is inclined to attribute the diffusion to the Sogdians, who manufactured the material in large quantities in Sogdiana as well as in Eastern Turkistan.[103] Paper was not only used by the Buddhist missionaries as a suitable material for their religious texts, but it was also utilized and diffused by the Manichaeans who put even greater emphasis on written texts.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions on the basis of the physical types represented in the Manichaean illustrations. The scant evidence points to Turks – darker skin, slightly oblique eyes, high cheek bones, and full beards. The Altaic type is to be expected since the Uyγur royal house was the principal support of Manichaeism in Eastern Turkistan. We find Iranian types in some fragments,[104] and one example of an Iranian warrior.[105]

The wealth in quantity and variety of wall painting in the Turfan region is not matched by the sculpture. The few examples are in the Gandhara tradition. Some of the heads show their Indian origin by the caste mark.[106] There is little of interest in the sculpture of Turfan for the purpose of the present study.

e. *Manuscript Material from the Northern Sites.* Attention has been called to the manuscript material in connection with the Manichaean miniatures. This, however, represents only a small part of the manuscript material from the Turfan sites. In general it may be said that this material is of prime importance for the study of Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Old Turkish, Sogdian, and above all, Tokharian, a hitherto unknown Indo-European language.

In the library of a temple designated as the "red dome building" von Le Coq found large numbers of Sanskrit texts in *pothi* form. One such volume contained some sixty pages of Sanskrit and Tokharian text

[102] *Spätantike*, II, p. 13.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[104] *Chotscho*, Pl. 4, d, e, g, h.
[105] *Ibid.*, Pl. 4, a.
[106] *Buried Treasures*, Pl. 7, 10.

material in Brahmi script.[107] This was later shown to be in "Tokharian B" as were all the Tokharian texts with the exception of a fragment each in the collections of Pelliot and Aurel Stein. As one might expect, practically all these texts consist of Buddhist material.[108]

The complex of religious structures generally known as Šorčuq Ming-öi proved to be as fruitful in manuscript material as in wall painting and sculpture.[109] Of particular interest were the manuscripts which turned out to be a form of the language different from that of the texts of the Kuča region. The Šorčuq or Qarašahr texts have been designated as "Tokharian A".[110]

E. ETHNOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

The foregoing material provides sufficient evidence to justify the view that the ancient population of the Tarim Basin was Indo-European in speech and of mixed Alpine and Nordic physical type – similar to the greater part of central, northern, and western Europe today. From the classical sources we can infer that the people were primarily Scythian and Issedon in origin with possibly a third element represented by the ancient Ch'ê-shih, who may have been Altains though this is by no means certain. The material culture of the Tarim States was distinctly Iranian. In the north, a Turkish element begins to appear in the pre-T'ang period. The donors of style 3 are most likely West Turks. The donors of style 4, on the other hand, are Uyγurs beyond reasonable doubt. With the arrival of the Turkic element, Chinese influences in art and material culture become more prominent, a fact which attests to the degree of Sinification not only of the Uyγurs but also of the West Turks.

The present situation in East Turkistan with respect to population and culture is similar to the one just depicted. On the other hand, the rather distinctive "Nordic" element, once so characteristic of the ruling class of the north, has since been absorbed. There are still vestiges of the ancient Tokharian type among the local rulers. Von Le Coq wrote about the local ruler of Lükčün as follows:[110]

This king or wang, of Lükčün is a handsom Turkish youth, the seventh in direct line of descent from the founder of the Turfan kingdom, Amin Khoja Khan, the

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[108] Meillet, "Les nouvelles langues," p. 137; *Serindia*, III, App. F.

[109] *Buried Treasures*, p. 143.

[110] Meillet, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The designation of the Tokharian languages has been a controversial matter since it was first proposed by F. W. K. Müller, Sieg and Siegling. This question as well as the broader aspects of the Tokharian problem is beyond the scope of this discussion, cf. *Turkisation*, App. II.

ruler of Turfan in 1760. We possess in the Berlin museum a life-sized portrait of that prince, painted at the time for the Emperor Kien-Lung; it is remarkable in that the nose is long, narrow, and straight, but the eyes blue. Thus in this man there survived the characteristics of the Tokharian race, even one thousand years after their disappearance. Our young patron bore the name of his more important ancestor.

The physical anthropology of the Tarim Basin as a whole has been treated in major works by Aurel Stein,[112] and Sven Hedin.[113] From the standpoint of the present discussion, the present population is the end product of a process we have endeavored to trace, and thus helps throw light on the elements which went into its formation.

If the Tokharians, as here suggested, are to be associated with the Issedones of the Greeks and the Wu-sun of the Chinese, we are confronted with still another aspect of the "Tokharian Problem". Elsewhere the writer has offered reasons for associating the Wu-sun-Issedones with an ancient Indo-European people who must have stood midway between the Indo-Iranians on the one hand, and the Italo-Kelts on the other, namely the Kimmerians, who were probably responsible for the transmission of the Hallstatt elements in the metal work of East Asia.[114]

[111] *Buried Treasures*, pp. 65, 66; for comment on the European type represented by the Wang of Hami, *Desert Cathay*, II, p. 343.

[112] *Serindia*, III, App. C. "Notes on the physical anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs," T. A. Joyce. The Astana burials in the Turfan region, treated at some length by Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, II, Ch. XIX, were not considered here since they consisted of burials of members of the Chinese bureaucracy. These burials date from the sixth to the seventh century of our era. Within these graves, however, figurines representing non-Chinese are quite numerous. The warriors who appear as mounted Kataphrakts may be Turks, *Ibid.*, IV, Pl. XCIX, Ast. iii, 2.017, 2.021. These Chinese grave figurines which extend into the T'ang period are most valuable sources for ethnographic reconstruction. I had the opportunity to examine the manuscript of the doctoral dissertation of Prof. Jane Gaston-Mahler some years ago. The material she compiled on the foreigners represented in T'ang grave figurines would be of great value to anyone pursuing this investigation further. I recall her reference to a typical example of a blue-eyed lady from East Turkistan as "the Irish beauty".

[113] Sven Hedin, *Scientific Results of a Journey in Central Asia 1899–1902*, Text 6 Vols., Atlas 2 Vols. (Stockholm, 1904–1907), Pt. III, sketches by Hedin.

[114] *Turkisation*, App. II; O. Janse, "Quelques antiquités chinoises d'un charactère Hallstattien," *BMFEA*, No. 2 (1930); "Notes sur quelques épées anciennes trouvées en Chine," *BMFEA*, No. 2; "Tubes et boutons cruciformes trouvés en Eurasie," *BMFEA*, No. 4 (1932).

REVIEWS

DISCUSSION

In *U.-A. Jb.*, XXVII, pp. 7–31, spricht V. Tauli "On Foreign Contacts of the Uralic Languages". Um feststellen zu können, was eigenständig ist und was auf fremdem Einfluss beruht, muss es im Wesentlichen feststehen resp. bekannt sein, was im Uralischen als autochthon angesehen werden muss. Dies ist aber bei Sprachgruppen mit relativ kurzer Geschichte, die zudem noch recht weit von geschichtsbewussten und beobachtenden Völkern entfernt sind, äusserst schwierig, oft sogar ganz unmöglich. Dieser Tatsachen bewusst, versucht Tauli in diesem Aufsatz, der leider nur eine gekürzte Version einer längeren Studie, "The Structural Tendencies of Languages, II: Uralic", ist, die vielfältigen fremden strukturellen (oder: typologischen) Einflüsse auf das eigentlich-Uralische aufzudecken.

Tauli geht von der – m. A. n. richtigen – Annahme aus, dass die gegenwärtige Struktur des Uralischen auf Einflüssen seitens des Indogermanischen, Altajischen und Arktischen – dies letztere ist im Grund ein weitgehend unbekanntes linguistisches und ethnisches Element – beruht, und ist natürlich sofort gezwungen, zum Problem der Urverwandtschaft zwischen Uralisch und Altajisch, Uralisch und Indogermanisch, und dadurch auch Altajisch und Indogermanisch Stellung zu nehmen. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass Tauli – was für einen Uralisten erstaunlich ist – die indogermanisch-uralische Verwandtschaft als unbewiesen bezeichnet, nimmt er auch in der Frage der uralisch-altajischen Verwandtschaft eine skeptische Haltung ein und zieht es "als sicherer" vor, die Übereinstimmungen als auf gegenseitigem Einfluss, also auf Konvergenz beruhend anzusetzen. Zur Schaffung der Grundlage, auf der die fremden Einflüsse im Uralischen analysiert werden können, ist im Grund eine Diskussion der Beziehungen aller Sprachgruppen vom praehistorischen Südwest-Europa quer über die eurasiatische Kontinentalmasse hinweg bis zum Pacific notwendig, die Tauli auch, allerdings in sehr grossen Linien, gibt. Ausser Acht gelassen werden von ihm dabei das Ḥamito-Semitische, Drāviḍa und Sino-Tibetische. Ein Uralist sollte aber das Drāviḍa doch unbedingt berücksichtigen. Das Palaio-Asiatische nimmt T. als eine Einheit, obwohl diese sich bei eingehenderer Beschäftigung in eine Vielheit, mindestens eine Dreiheit: Jenisejisch mit Kottisch, Assanisch und Arinisch, Čukči-Koŕak-Kamčadalisch, Gil'ak und Ajnu, auflöst. Auch hierbei vermeidet T. es, von Verwandtschaft zu sprechen (z.B. Uralisch-Jukagirisch), sondern beschränkt sich auf eine Charakteristik grosser gemeinsamer, typologischer Züge. In diesem Zusammenhang werden auch Beziehungen zwischen Basko-Kaukasisch und Palaio-Sibirisch (Čukči), Kaukasisch und Uralisch, Uralisch und Eskimo, Baskisch und Eurasiatisch, *et al.*, gestreift.

Nach diesen natürlicherweise langen – und doch noch zu kurzen – Vorbemerkungen kann T. pp. 17 ff. die fremden Einflüsse in den einzelnen uralischen Sprachen skizzieren: baltische, nord-germanische und slavische im Ostsee-Finnischen, wobei auch die Stellung des Lappischen innerhalb des Uralischen diskutiert wird (25 ff.): sehr im Gegensatz zu der Ansicht E. Itkonen's (cf. *U.-A. Jb.*, XXVII, 32–44) hält T. an der engeren Verwandtschaft des Lappischen mit dem Ugrischen und Samojedischen fest, da T. das lappische Dualsuffix *-k* nicht als sekundär, abgeleitet, wie Itkonen, sondern als primär ansieht.

Alle anderen finno-ugrischen Sprachen haben eine Reihe von typologischen Charakteristika mit dem Altajischen, speciell dem Türkischen, gemeinsam, wobei es wieder in vielen Fällen unmöglich ist, festzustellen, ob diese auf "alte ural-altajische Iso-

glossen", wie T. sich ausdrückt, wo andre "Urverwandtschaft" sagen würden, oder auf späteren (historischen) Einfluss seitens des Türkischen zurückgehen. In T.'s Nomenclatur könnte man dann lediglich zwischen älteren und jüngeren Isoglossen unterscheiden, wobei es offen bleibt, wieviele Isoglossen zu einer Urverwandtschaft ausreichten. Von den 9 von T. speciell erwähnten typologischen Übereinstimmungen sind mir die 5., 6. und 7. unklar, und statt Nominativ sollte man hier wie auch durchweg beim uralischen und altajischen Nomen vom casus indefinitus reden. Der altajische Einfluss ist am stärksten im Mari (Čeremis), wobei zu bemerken ist, dass dies seine Gründe in der engen Nachbarschaft mit dem Ţāvaš resp. Volga-Bulgarischen und dem Qazanischen hat. Diese Einflüsse stammen meist aus der historischen Epoche und sind deshalb auch klar erkennbar.

Die besondere Stellung des Mordvinischen wird verschiedentlich hervorgehoben, da es einer Reihe von heterogenen Einflüssen ausgesetzt war. Schon vor ca. 30 Jahren hat E. Lewy oset'ische Einflüsse im Mordvinischen behandelt. Ausser iranischen sind auch sonstige typologische Einflüsse im Mordvinischen vorhanden, wie die im Uralischen sonst nur im Ugrischen vorhandene objektive Konjugation (dies ist bei T. p. 15 unklar ausgedrückt), die sich weder im Altajischen, noch im Indogermanischen, sondern im Mediterrano-Kaukasischen, Jenisejischen und Palaio-Sibirischen findet, wobei bemerkt werden muss, dass im Mediterrano-Kaukasischen und Jenisejischen (?) das Objekt durch ein *Praefix* bezeichnet wird.

Dem Ungarischen gilt ebenfalls besondere Beachtung; die vielfältigen Einflüsse (bei Tauli meist "components", also eher "Bestandteile") in der Sprache spiegeln die komplicierten anthropologischen Charakteristika des Ungartums wieder. Nach T. ist die stärkste "Komponente" des Ungarischen das Türkische, die er auf alte und langwährende Berührungen der Ungarn mit türkischen Völkern und wahrscheinlich, wenn auch teilweise, auf ein altes türkisches Substratum zurückführt. Als Substrat nennt er die von den Ungarn assimilierten türkischen Κάβαροι (bei Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos), die Połovci (Qomanen), etc. – er hätte auch die mongolischen Avaren erwähnen sollen – und verweist auf die volga-bulgarischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen. Der strukturelle Einfluss des Indogermanischen auf das Ungarische ist nach T. späteren Ursprungs. Hier kommen das Slavische, Lateinische und Germanische (spezieller das Deutsche) in Frage. Periphrastische Praeterita und die syntaktische Subordination sind nach T. zuerst in der Übersetzungsliteratur in Anlehnung ans Latein entstanden. Später wird dann der deutsche Einfluss der stärkste Fremdeinfluss im Ungarischen. Er bewirkte die weitere Ausbildung der syntaktischen Subordination, die Entstehung eines periphrastischen Passivs und der Verbalpraefixe, die als typologisches Charakteristikum ja auch im Slavischen produktiv vorhanden sind. Hinsichtlich der Verbalpraefixe wäre nun eine Auseinandersetzung mit M. Zsirai, *Obiugor igekötök* (1933), notwendig, denn Zsirai kommt auf Grund des Vorhandenseins von Verbalpraefixa im Ob-Ugrischen zu dem Schluss, dass sie auch in ugrischen Sprachen entstehen konnten, die, wie er meint, keinem indogermanischen Einfluss ausgesetzt waren. Hier erheben sich nun verschiedene Fragen, u.a. die, ob das Ob-Ugrische nun nicht vielleicht doch zu einer gewissen früheren Epoche engere Berührungen mit dem Indogermanischen, z.B. dem Iranischen, oder auch mit anderen praefigierenden Sprachen (kaukasischen, jenisejischen Typs) hatte; ob Praefigierung ein ur-ugrischer Zug ist, der vielleicht aus der Zeit einer mutmasslichen ur-uralisch-indogermanischen Verwandtschaft her bewahrt und im Ungarischen, in der slavisch-germanischen praefigierenden Nachbarschaft, zu neuem Leben erweckt worden ist; oder ob nicht umgekehrt das Vorhandensein von Verbalpraefixen im Ugrischen gerade der Beweis für frühere engere Kontakte dieser Gruppe mit praefigierenden, höchstwahrscheinlich indogermanischen, vielleicht auch jenisejischen Sprachen, sein könnte.

Zu Beginn des Abschnittes über das Ungarische, p. 29 Mitte, kommt folgender Satz vor: "Structural traits which Hungarian has in common with Vogul and Ostyak are

mainly such as point to the Altaic (or Turkic) component, as do the objective conjugation and the use of preverbs in order to express the perfective action." Das ist falsch, denn das Altajische kennt weder objektive Konjugation noch Verbal-Praefixe. Da mir T.'s Artikel ins Englische übersetzt worden zu sein scheint, muss hier ein Übersetzungsfehler oder ein ähnliches Missverständnis vorliegen: dass T. das nicht gemeint haben kann, geht aus dem nächsten Satz hervor: "The objective conjugation is the only structural trait in Hungarian which points to the Arctic component." Aber auch dies steht in Widerspruch zu dem von T. vorher Gesagten, wonach er hier – und m.A.n. mit Recht – hätte "to the Basco-Caucaso-Paleo-Asiatic(-Siberian) component" sagen müssen. Zu der "arktischen Komponente" sollen noch weiter unten ein paar Bemerkungen folgen.

Die beiden anderen ugrischen Sprachen, Vogulisch und Ostjakisch, weisen 2 fremde Komponenten auf, Altajisch und Arktisch. Dasselbe gilt nach T. auch für das Samojedische. Wichtig ist T.'s Hinweis auf das ganz un-ural-altajische Vorhandensein verschiedener Casus-Suffixe für Singular und Plural im Nord-Samojedischen, das nach ihm auf eine "archaische, hoch-synthetische (arktische, palaio-eurasische oder palaio-europäische) Komponente zurückgehen oder das Resultat von Sprachmischung sein kann (p. 31). Verschiedene Suffixe für einen und denselben Casus in Singular, Plural und Dual haben auf dem ganzen hier in Frage kommenden Gebiet lediglich die indogermanischen, nicht aber die ebenfalls sehr formenreichen mediterrano-kaukasischen Sprachen. Den anderen, nördlichen palaio-eurasischen Sprachen dürfte dieser Zug auch nicht eigen gewesen sein. Deshalb müsste dies typologische Kriterion der südlichen Zone der palaio-eurasischen Sprachen, in der sich auch das Indogermanische entwickelt hat, zugewiesen werden. Diese typologische Besonderheit des Samojedischen rechtfertigt T.'s Hinweis auf andere speziell-samojedische Züge, auf Grund deren Gelehrte wie schon Heinrich Winkler und jetzt D. Sinor das Samojedische und das Tungusische in eine engere Gemeinschaft stellen. Ein wichtiges typologisches Charakteristikon dieser Gemeinschaft ist auch die von T. erwähnte grammatische Kongruenz. Beide Züge sind innerhalb des Uralischen und Altajischen fremd und archaisch und gehen m.A.n. auf eine Zeit grösserer Nähe und engerer Verwandtschaft zwischen Uralisch, Altajisch und Indogermanisch zurück, wenn nicht auf die ural-altajisch-indogermanische Ursprachperiode. Deshalb hätte T. sie wohl ohne besondere Bedenken der oder einer palaio-eurasischen Komponente zuweisen können. Im Uralischen erscheint Kongruenz im Ostsee-Finnischen – dort evtl. (später?) indogermanischer Einfluss –, sonst kommt nur eine partielle Kongruenz zwischen Adjektiv und Substantiv im Lappischen und Mordvinischen vor.

Zu einzelnen Theorieen T.'s seien noch einige Bemerkungen hier eingefügt.

1. Typologische oder "strukturelle" Unterschiede resp. Charakteristika sind genau so wie Lautverhältnisse nicht statisch, sondern dynamisch, und ihre permanente Veränderung erschwert ihre Erkennbarkeit. Die beste Illustration hierfür bietet das Indogermanische; so ist es unmöglich, eine gesamt-idg. syntaktische Struktur festzustellen (Delbrück).

2. Palaio-Europäisch und Palaio-Eurasisch muss geschieden werden. Das Palaio-Europäische könnte man auch Mediterrano-Kaukasisch nennen, das vom Baskischen bis möglicherweise ins Palaio-Asiatische Čukči an der Bering-Strasse reicht. Das Palaio-Eurasische hingegen ist wohl ungefähr mit dem Proto-Ural-Altajisch-Indogermanischen zu identifizieren. Diese beiden Gruppen waren schon in ältesten Zeiten typologisch scharf gegeneinander abgegrenzt. Von dem Palaio-Eurasischen mag sich das Indogermanische teilweis wesentlich unter dem Kontakteinfluss des Mediterrano-Kaukasischen typologisch (strukturell) gewandelt haben (z.B. Prae- und Infixe; Aktiv: Medium [> Passiv]); tiefgreifende Beziehungen, die nach Süden, in ältester Epoche nach Südosten weisen, verbinden das Indogermanische mit dem Semito-Ḥamitischen.

3. "Arktisch" sollte doch viel weniger ein geographischer als ein historischer oder

vielmehr entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Terminus sein. Wahrscheinlich sind Tovar, Indreko und Coon, von T. p. 16 zitiert, im grossen Ganzen auf dem richtigen Wege. "Arktisch" sind Völker und Sprachen, die zwar heute in der Arktis leben, und deren Sprachen, wenn nicht alle Anzeichen trügen, überaus reich an Archaismen sind, die noch aus jenen Zeiten stammen, in denen jene Völker viel weiter südlich lebten, und zwar in unmittelbarer (nördlicher) Nachbarschaft mit den mediterran-kaukasischen Völkern. Das war während der Steinzeit. Ihre Verdrängung aus jenen Gebieten durch zur Metallbereitung fortgeschrittene Völker, die zur mediterran-kaukasischen und schliesslich auch der proto-indogermanischen Sprachenwelt gehörten, bedeutet das Ende der Steinzeit in Europa oder vielmehr im westlichen Teil der Alten Welt; die Steinzeitkultur und deren Träger, sofern sie nicht der Absorption und Assimilation verfielen, wanderten wie die Gletscher der Eiszeit nach Norden ab, zusammen mit einigen für sie typischen Tieren wie Bison und Renntier, und im Lauf von einigen Jahrtausenden wurden die Überreste dieser Steinzeitler von ihren sich in der gemässigten Zone weiter ausbreitenden südlichen Nachbarn so weit nach Norden abgedrängt, dass sie – wohl während der letzten 2000–2500 Jahre – nur noch in der Arktis überleben konnten, sodass die Arktis in der gleichen Weise wie viele Hochgebirgsregionen in der gemässigten oder sogar heissen Zone, Pyrenaeen, Alpen, Kaukasus (!), Hindukuš-Pamir-Himalaja, der Altiplano in Perù u.a., zum Refugium wurde, in dem sich kleine Teile von sonst längst verschollenen, d.h. absorbierten und assimilierten Völkern und Sprachen bis auf unsere Tage haben halten können. Wichtig ist der Hinweis auf Coon's Feststellung, dass einige Magdalénien-Schädel Züge aufweisen, die für Eskimos und andere Völker des arktischen Sibirien unserer Zeit typisch sind. Dass die "arktischen" Völker (und Sprachen!) keinesfalls einheitlichen Ursprungs waren, liegt auf der Hand: das beste Beispiel hierfür sind ja ohne Zweifel die Lappen, in denen wohl als die beiden Ur-Komponenten eine ursprünglich westliche steinzeitliche palaio-(nord)europäische und eine ursprünglich östliche palaiolithische (süd-)sibirische vorhanden waren, die letztere wohl schon durch hoch-asiatische ("altajische") Einflüsse charakterisiert. Nach Indreko sind die Ur-Finno-Ugrier Ur-Europäer des Magdalénien-Typus, während bei ihm Lappen und Samojeden, "Arktiker", um den Beginn der neolithischen Zeit herum aus dem palaiolithischen Zentrum Sibiriens zum Teil bis nach Nord-Norwegen hin gewandert sind. Man müsste versuchen, festzustellen, ob diese letztere, von Indreko angesetzte Wanderung durch klimatische Gründe bedingt war (ich dächte hierbei an einen wachsenden Einfluss der Golfstromwärme und die dadurch verursachte stärker einsetzende Enteisung im Norden und Nordwesten der Europäischen Halbinsel). Soviel vorläufig zu T.'s "arktischem" Komplex.

4. Die Theorie von der oder einer Ursprache braucht auch bei der Annahme einer Diffusionstheorie nicht über Bord geworfen zu werden, wenn zwar es bei der Berücksichtigung von Berührungen einer Sprachgruppe, die eine relativ sehr kurze Geschichte hat, mit fremden Sprachgruppen viel schwieriger wird – oft unmöglich –, eine Ursprache zu rekonstruieren. Schliesslich haben ja die Sprachen, mit denen eine gegebene Sprachgruppe in Berührung gekommen ist, auch Vorstufen resp. Ursprachen gehabt. Genau so wird auch die Frage resp. Suche nach der Urheimat der Sprecher einer gegebenen Sprachgruppe nicht hinfällig, sondern je klarer die Erkennbarkeit fremder Einflüsse wird, desto leichter wird es, die Urheimat einer gegebenen Sprachgruppe zu bestimmen. Hierbei müssen nun auch anthropologische Charakteristika – besonders wenn diese innerhalb einer gewissen grösseren Gruppe ungewöhnlich sind (bei den Uraliern z.B. die Lappen, Ungarn; bei den Türken die Osmanen, Abaqan-Tataren ["Xaqas"]; die ungeheure anthropologische Verschiedenheit der indogermanisch-sprechenden Völker, der Dinarische Typ, etcetc.) berücksichtigt werden.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Suffigierung des pron. refl. 3. pers. – die für das gesamte Ostseegebiet typisch ist: Skandinavisch, Baltisch, Slavisch; Ostsee-Finnisch – erwähnt T., p. 19 oben, dass das Karelo-Olonecische genau wie das Balto-Slavische das Suffix

3. pers. poss. reflex. auch im Fall der 1. und 2. pers. des Verbums (und Subjekts) anwendet. Es ist hierbei daraufhinzuweisen, dass genau die gleiche grammatische Konstruktion im (Nord-)Tungusischen herrscht, das für die Reflexivität nur 1 generelles, impersonelles, etymologisch mit den pronominalen Suffixa nicht verwandtes Suffix kennt, während die Reflexivität im Balto-Slavischen in Ermangelung eines unpersönlichen Pronomens immer durch das suffigierte pron. refl. 3. pers. des Indogermanischen ausgedrückt wird, weswegen wir wohl annehmen müssen, dass innerhalb des Indogermanischen diese Konstruktion typisch balto-slavisch, dem Indogermanischen aber ursprünglich fremd ist und dass ihr Ursprung wohl im Uralischen und Altajischen zu suchen ist. Daraus folgt aber nicht, dass diese Konstruktion sich nun gerade im Karelo-Olonecischen erhalten haben sollte, während sie in den meisten balto-finnischen Sprachen untergegangen wäre; sondern sie hat sich im Karelo-Olonecischen so gut gerade durch die starke Anlehnung ans Slavische (Gross-Russische) bewahrt. Es ist ja andererseits auch kein Zufall, dass sich im Votischen und Süd-Estnischen die reflexive Form gewöhnlich nur in der 3. pers. vorfindet.

In der Diskussion über germanisch-finnische Beziehungen polemisiert T. (p. 22 oben), wie ich dafür halte, mit Recht gegen Posti's Theorie, nach der die wichtigsten Konsonanten-Veränderungen des Ur-Finnischen durch germanischen Einfluss erklärt werden können, und weist im Lauf seiner Debatte auf die Ähnlichkeit von Verner's Gesetz mit dem fi.-ugrischen Stufenwechsel hin. Dies habe ich auch schon seit Jahren in meinen Vorlesungen getan, ausserdem habe ich den finno-ugrischen Stufenwechsel und Verner's Gesetz in Zusammenhang mit der im Türkischen immer noch nicht gelösten Frage der Konsonanten-Gemination gebracht (cf. z.B. *Qaraqalpaq Grammar*, I: *Phonology*, pp. 37 ff.). Es müsste in diesem Zusammenhang noch betont werden, dass im Indogermanischen mit dessen freiem Accent und spezifischen Accent- und Intonationsverhältnissen das Germanische mit seiner Fixierung des Accents auf der ersten Stamm- resp. Wurzel-Silbe und der Herausbildung von Verner's Gesetz ganz eigene Wege gegangen ist, die natürlich durch Nachbarschaft sowie Substratum bedingt sind, und diese sind hier das Uralische, genauer das Finno-Ugrische: Stufenwechsel und Verner's Gesetz stehen in unlöslichem Zusammenhang.

Ähnlich liegen die Dinge mit der Kongruenz (p. 24 f.). Im Ostsee-Finnischen kann die Kongruenz – im Lappischen ist sie nur partiell – sehr wohl, wie T. das annimmt, auf indogermanischen Einfluss zurückgehen. Nun gibt es aber die Kongruenz auch im Ostʼak-Samojedischen und im Altajischen im (Nord-)Tungusischen und, partiell, im Alt-Mongolischen .wo sie in keinem Fall auf indogermanischen Einfluss zurückzuführen ist. So ist, wie ich das schon an anderer Stelle gesagt habe, die Kongruenz auch als eine altajische und uralische Erscheinung anzusehen. Allerdings ist die Kongruenz, so wie sie im Altajischen und Uralischen ausser dem Ostsee-Finnischen vorliegt, in der Art von der des Indogermanischen verschieden, dass sie durchweg eine Art partieller Kongruenz ist, meist nur die von Adjektiv und Substantiv, weniger die von anderen Nomina, Pronomina, und Verba, was mir daraufhinzudeuten scheint, dass die Kongruenz im Ur-Altajischen zwar noch vorhanden war, aber sich bereits bei dem Eintritt des Altajischen in seine historische Epoche im Zustand des Verfalls befand, der lediglich im von der Gesamtentwicklung regional immer weiter sich entfernenden und dadurch konservativer und archaischer bleibenden Nord-Tungusischen (Evenki und Lamut) aufgehalten worden ist. So mögen also die dem Ostsee-Finnischen und anderen finno-ugrischen Sprachen, z.B. dem Mordvinischen, eng benachbarten indogermanischen Sprachen, Balto-Slavisch und Germanisch, den Verfall der Kongruenz im Uralischen nicht nur aufgehalten, sondern deren volle Entfaltung nach ihrem eigenen Typus gefördert haben.

Die Kongruenz wäre also, ähnlich wie das Vorhandensein verschiedener Casus-Suffixe für Singular und Plural im Nord-Samojedischen (und teilweis im Lappischen), eines jener archaischen Charakteristika, die zu der "palaio-eurasischen" Schicht ge-

hören und die noch aus der Zeit der Urverwandtschaft zwischen Uralisch, Altajisch und Indogermanisch erhalten sind.

Columbia University, New York K. H. Menges

Takeo Abe, *Nishi-Uiguru kokushi no kenkyû* (Studien über die Geschichte des West-Uiguren-Reiches). Kyôto, 1955. 18,573 und 18 S.

Dem Vorwort des Verfassers zufolge ist das Buch auf der Basis seiner 1928 geschriebenen Dissertation *Kaikotsu gojôkô* (Über Wu-tsch'eng (1)[1] der Uiguren) durch Erweiterung unter Hinzuziehung öst- und westlicher Quellen entstanden. Das Werk umfasst ausser einleitenden und abschliessenden noch weitere 7 Kapitel. Jedem der 7 Kapitel folgt eine Zusammenfassung. Ein englisch verfasstes kurzes Resumée der in den Kapiteln vertretenen Standpunkte bezüglich der Hauptstadt Pei-t'ing (Bishbalik) ist bereits unter dem Titel „Where was the Capital of the West Uighurs?", übersetzt von L. Hurwitz, im *Silver Jubilee Volume of Zinbun kagaku kenkyûsho* (Kyôto University, 1954), pp. 435-450, erschienen. Aus diesem Grunde kann man sich hier auf das Wesentliche beschränken.

In der *Einleitung* hält der Verfasser, wie Haneda Tôro u.a., Ting-ling (2), Ti-li (3), Tsch'i-lê (4) und T'ie-lê (5), wie im Falle der T'u-küe (6), für phonetische Wiedergaben von *türk* oder ähnlichem. Die Uiguren waren ein Stamm der T'ie-lê, denen nach Meinung des Verfassers vielleicht auch die T'u-küe entstammten.

Zunächst wird die Wanderung der Kao-kü (7), dann die Ausbreitung der T'ie-lê-Stämme gestreift. Er sieht in Wei-ho (8) und Yüan-ho (9) (= Wu-hu (10)) zwei verschiedene Stämme und identifiziert sie mit den Uighur bzw. Oghuz. Ferner teilt er die Meinung von Haneda, dass mit Toquz-oghuz die Neun Stämme der T'ie-lê gemeint seien.

Im *1. Kapitel* wird bequemlichkeitshalber – für diese Zeit liegt reicheres Quellenmaterial vor – über die Idikut und ihre Hauptstadt sowie ihre Beziehungen zu dem Grossen Mongolenreich im 13. Jh. berichtet. Von da an werden dann in weiteren Kapiteln die weniger belegten vorangehenden Zeiten retrospektiv abgerollt. Es beginnt mit dem Abfall des West-Uiguren-Reiches von den Kara-Kitai und seiner Unterwerfung von den Mongolen. Durch die Gewährung der Bitte des Königs Barjuk an Genghis Khan, als dessen fünfter Sohn behandelt zu werden, soll das Gebiet der West-Uiguren von der Aufteilung in vier Khanate durch Genghis Khan nicht betroffen worden sein; es wurde seither sozusagen als das „5. Khanat" betrachtet und konnte so seine Sicherheit und eine gewisse politische Freiheit wahren. Der Verfasser sucht zu beweisen, dass die Hauptstadt damals, d.h. Anfang der Yüan-Zeit, in Pei-t'ing (= Bishbalik) lag. Dann werden die Verhältnisse im Uigurenreich von der Zeit des Ögödei bis zu der des Möngke eingehend untersucht, und es wird festgestellt, dass das Uigurenreich unter der Spaltung der Macht der Mogolenfürsten gelitten hat, und dass durch Möngke's Errichtung des Hing-schang-schu-scheng (11), d.h. Provinzial-Finanzamtes, in Bishbalik, das nach wie vor die Hauptstadt der Uiguren war, der politische Druck der Mongolen auf die Uiguren sich verschärft hat.

Im *2. Kapitel* geht der Verfasser auf das Schicksal des Uigurenreiches bei Khaidū's Aufstand ein. Hier wird zuerst die Rivalität zwischen Khubilai und Arikbughu dargelegt. Trotz dieser verwirrten Lage konnte das Uigurengebiet noch seine Neutralität wahren. Eingehend werden dann die Person und der Aufstand des Khaidū gegen Khubilai Khan geschildert. Der Verfasser datiert, wie Yanai, den Aufstand in das

[1] Die Nummer in Klammern verweisen auf den Anhang.

Jahr 1268. Die strategisch wichtige Hauptstadt Bishbalik wurde von Duas Heer besetzt, und so musste der König Huo-tsch'i-ha-ör (12) der Uiguren vermutlich 1270 die Hauptstadt aufgeben und sie nach Kao-tsch'ang (= Kara-Khodja) verlegen, wo sie 1275 erneut von Dua u.a. 6 Monate lang belagert wurde. Obwohl die Uiguren dem Khubilai treu blieben, erhielten sie keine Hilfe von ihm. Erst als der König seine Tochter dem Dua überliess, wurde die Belagerung aufgehoben.

Seit der Auflösung der Frontkommandantur der Khubilai-Regierung in Ye-li-ma-li (13) (in der Nähe von Kuldja) i.J. 1277 wurde Bishbalik ihre militärische und politische Basis im Westen, die sie dann 1287 an Khaidū verlor. Als Behörden der Khubilai-Regierung im Bereich der Uiguren, insbesondere in Bishbalik und Kara-Khodja fungierten: 1. An-tsch'a-sse (14), 2. Tu-hu-fu (15) und 3. Süan-yü-sse (16).

Durch den Angriff von T'u-ku-mie (17) musste die Idikut-Regierung ihre neue Hauptstadt Kara-Khodja vermutlich um 1280 aufgeben, um sich nach Kamul zu begeben. Auch dort konnte sie nach dem heldenhaften Tode des Königs (wahrscheinlich i.J. 1282/3) nicht mehr bleiben. Der junge Idikut kam mit seinen Leuten vermutlich 1283/4 nach Yung-tsch'ang (18) in Kan-su, einem Gebiet, das mit den Uiguren historisch eng verknüpft war, denn im Nordwesten hatten zur Sung-Zeit die Zentren der Kan-tschou- und Scha-tschou-Uiguren gelegen. Damit war das Schicksal des West-Uiguren-Reiches besiegelt. Dort wurde der Hof des Kao-tsch'ang-Königs (19) errichtet. Der König konnte das Gebiet um Bishbalik und Kara-Khodja nur noch aus der Ferne verwalten, aber nach der Regierungszeit des T'ai-ting (1324/7) hörte auch dieser Zustand auf.

Das *3. Kapitel* behandelt die Vorgeschichte der Westwanderung der Ost-Uiguren zur T'ang-Zeit. Dabei beginnt der Verfasser mit der Verwaltung des Westens der Yaghlakar-Dynastie (744-795) nach der Vernichtung der Karluk und Bashmil. Bis Bishbalik, dem Zentrum der Bashmil, dehnte sich ihre Herrschaft aus, wenn es auch formal unter der Souveränität der T'ang stand. Da Bishbalik ein Verkehrs- und Handelsknotenpunkt war, überfielen es die Tibeter 789 und eroberten es 790. Auch Fu-t'u-tsch'uan (20), das mit P'u-lei-hien (21) der T'ang in T'ing-tschou (22) identifiziert wird, fiel in die Hände der Karluk.

Im Jahre 795 begann die Ati-Dynastie mit Huai-sin (23) Khagan, der mit dem Buku-Khan der Mythe identifiziert wird; bei dieser Identifizierung setzt sich der Verfasser mit den Theorien anderer Wissenschaftler lebhaft auseinander. Buku-Khan war niemand anders als der Ahnherr der Idikut der West-Uiguren der Yüan-Zeit.

Die Änderung der chinesischen Bezeichnung Hui-ho (24) in Hui-hu (25) erfolgte nicht i.J. 788 (nach T'ang-schu und Tse-tschi-t'ung-kien), sondern i.J. 809 (nach Kiu-t'ang-schu und Sung-hui-yao-kao).

Durch den Westfeldzug Buku-Khan's wurden Bishbalik und Fu-t'u-tsch'uan 791/5 (?) wieder zurückerobert. Dies leitete das West-Projekt der Ati-Dynastie ein. Buku's Macht dehnte sich bis Kara-Khodja, Kucha, Belasagun (= P'ei-lo-tsiang-kün tsch'eng (26) = boila sängün) und bis zum Syr-darja aus. Von da an verlagerte sich der Schwerpunkt des Reiches der Ost-Uiguren immer mehr nach dem Westen. Diese Tendenz bestätigen die aus den Jahren 761-832 (?) stammenden Fragmente der manichäischen Hymnen (s. F. W. K. Müller). Der darin erwähnte Herrscher ist vielleicht nicht identisch mit Tschao-li (27) Khagan (823-832), sondern mit Pao-i (28) Khagan (808-821) der Ost-Uiguren. Für die Wichtigkeit der beiden Städte Pentapolis (= Bishbalik) und Jînânjkath (= Kara-Khodja) spricht der Bericht, dass zu ihrer Verwaltung je ein Minister eingesetzt wurde.

Die bekannte spätere Westwanderung der Uiguren erfolgte zwar durch eine ganze Reihe zufälliger Anlässe, aber auch ihre frühzeitig erfolgte Westorientierung und ihre Entwicklung zu einem westasiatischen Staat haben entscheidend dazu beigetragen.

Im *4. Kapitel* werden der Sturz des Ost-Uiguren-Reiches und die Westwanderung der Uiguren betrachtet. Durch die andauernden Naturkatastrophen von 836/40, die

Revolte des An-yün-ho und seiner Anhänger und die Angriffe der Kirgisen ging 840 das Ost-Uiguren-Reich zugrunde, und seine übriggebliebenen Leute flohen auseinander. Die nach Süden, d.h. Sui-yüan und Tsin-pei (Kuei-hua-tsch'eng und Ta-t'ung-Gegend) Geflüchteten bildeten zwei Gruppen unter Ormuz und Wu-kie (29) Khagan. Die nach Westen Entflohenen teilten sich nach Wang Ji-wei (30) in Kan-tschou, Si-tschou und Ts'ung-ling (= Pamir) West in drei selbständige Gruppen auf. Es waren 15 Horden (*pu*) mit schätzungsweise 100.000 bis 300.000 Mann. Minorsky's Vermutung, dass die Hauptmasse nach Kan-tschou kam und dort ein neues Königreich gegründet habe, entspricht nach Ansicht des Verfassers nicht der Tatsache, denn es handelt sich dort nur um eine Nebengruppe. Hier in diesem Buch werden sie nicht als West-Uiguren behandelt.

Obwohl die Quellen nur berichten, dass die westwärts fliehenden Uiguren zu den Karluk und nach An-si (= Kucha) kamen, und dass i.J. 866, also mehr als 20 Jahre nach der Flucht, ein Grosshäuptling der Pei-t'ing-Uiguren, namens P'u-ku Tsün, Si-tschou (= Kao-tsch'ang) usw. eroberte, glaubt der Verfasser feststellen zu können, dass Pei-t'ing (Bishbalik) und An-si (Kucha) von Buku's Zeit (s. 3. Kap.) an ununterbrochen unter der Herrschaft der Uiguren gestanden hätten und die Hauptziele ihrer Westwanderung gewesen seien.

Die Uiguren hatten sich teils in An-si, teils in Bishbalik und Belasagun niedergelassen. In dem Grosshäuptling P'u-ku Tsün vermutet der Verfasser einen Khagan der West-Uiguren und betrachtet dabei Pei-t'ing als Hauptstadt, zumal Pei-t'ing später zur Yüan-Zeit Hauptstadt wurde; er verneint eine Verlegung der Hauptstadt nach Kao-tsch'ang in der Zwischenzeit. Während der mehr als 20 Jahre nach ihrer Flucht werden jedoch die Karluk, gelegentlich des Aufenthaltes der Uiguren bei denselben, von den Quellen sonderbarerweise nicht erwähnt. Dies erklärt der Verfasser damit, dass die chinesischen Chronisten damals vermutlich die Karluk in den Begriff „An-si" einschlossen. Über die An-si-Uiguren – der Verfasser vermutet, dass sie schliesslich schwach wurden und entweder nach Kan-tschou kamen oder von den Pei-t'ing-Uiguren absorbiert wurden – geben die chinesischen Quellen klarere Auskunft als über die Pei-t'ing-Uiguren; politisch scheinen sie demnach überlegener als die Letzteren gewesen zu sein; die T'ang wollten ihr Oberhaupt sogar zum Khagan ernennen. Dies erklärt der Verfasser damit, dass die An-si-Uiguren dem gleichen Khaganhaus Jaghlakar wie die Kan-tschou-Uiguren angehörten und durch die Vermittlung dieser Leute den T'ang bekannter waren als die Pei-t'ing-Leute. Ihr erster Khagan war P'ang-t'ê-lê (31) (= T'ê-p'ang-lê (32) (= I-mang-li) (33). Der Verfasser folgert auch aus arabischen und persischen Quellen (Rashīd al-Dīn, Ibn Chordâdhbih), dass die Pei-t'ing-Uiguren, die vermutlich dem Khaganhaus Ati angehöten, die Hauptgruppe der West-Uiguren waren und mit Toghuzghuz bezichnet wurden. Auf die Frage, warum diese unter Toghuzghuz bekannten Pei-t'ing-Uiguren zur Yüan-Zeit nur mit Uiguren (34) bezeichnet worden sind, erklärt der Verfasser, dass mutmasslich die beiden Bezeichnungen Toghuzghuz und Uigur seit der Westwanderung nebeneinander gebraucht wurden und dass durch Zufall nur die eine den Yüan geläufig geworden ist.

Im *5. Kapitel* wird die Hauptstadt der West-Uiguren zur Zeit der Liao und der Sung behandelt. Nach Maḥmûd al-Kâshgharî war Bishbalik in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jh. die grösste der Städte der Uiguren. Daraus folgert der Verfasser, dass die grösste Stadt zugleich die Hauptstadt war. Als ein analoges Beispiel führt er an, dass die Hauptstadt Bishbalik der West-Uiguren in der Yüan-Zeit von Tsch'ang-tsch'un-tschen-jen (35) mit „Grosstadt" (36) bezeichnet wurde. Der Verfasser ist gegen die Meinung von Barthold, dass damals Kao-tsch'ang und Bishbalik als zwei Hauptstädte nebeneinander standen.

Nach der Überlieferung der Uiguren der Yüan-Zeit, die von Juwaynî 1257 erwähnt wird, zu urteilen, war Bishbalik schon seit der Flucht im 9. Jh. ihre Hauptstadt gewesen. Auch die in den chinesischen Quellen Kao-tsch'ang-wang-shi-hün-pei (37)

(Originaltext!) und Kao-tsch'ang Hie-schi-kia-tschuan (38) enthaltenen Überlieferungen der Uiguren berichten, dass die Uiguren nach Bishbalik wanderten und über Kao-tsch'ang herrschten. Der Verfasser hält den entsprechenden, das Gegenteil behauptenden Text der populären Ausgabe des Kao-tsch'ang-wang schi-hün-pei für unrichtig. Er legt besonders grosses Gewicht auf die Gedächtnisstärke der Uiguren, dank welcher sich diese Überlieferungen erhalten haben, um anders lautende zeitgenössische Berichte „abzuschwächen".

Anschliessend stellt der Verfasser eine lange ausführliche Liste über die Herkunft der Uiguren aus Yüan-schi, Sin-yüan-schi, Prosasammlungen, Yüan-t'ung yüan-nien tsin-schi-lu (39) usw. auf, um statistisch festzustellen, dass ihre Mehrheit aus Bishbalik stammte, und so will er indirekt seine These bestätigen, dass Bishbalik von Anfang an die Hauptstadt war.

Ferner identifiziert der Verfasser die in dem Bericht von Mas'ûdî vom Jahr 943/4 erwähnte Stadt Kûšân der Toghuzghuz (= West-Uiguren) phonetisch mit Wu-tsch'eng = Ku-tsch'eng (40) = Bishbalik. Auch historisch glaubt er die Identifikation rechtfertigen zu können, indem er den von Mas'ûdî erwähnten „König der wilden Tiere" bzw. „König der Pferde" und den von Wang Yen-tê (41) in seinem Kao-tsch'ang hing-ki genannten „Löwen-König" (= Arslan-khan) in Bishbalik bzw. die Pferdezucht des Königs in Bishbalik für zusammenhängend erklärt.

Dann setzt sich der Verfasser lebhaft mit denjenigen Stellen des Reiseberichtes von Wang Yen-tê auseinander, die mit seiner These, Bishbalik ist gleich Hauptstadt, in Widerspruch stehen: Wang Yen-tê kam 981/2 zunächst nach Kao-tsch'ang und dann Pei-t'ing. Er berichtete u.a., dass der Löwen-König (= Arslan-khan) 982 sich zur Sommerfrische nach Pei-t'ing begab und seinen Schwiegervater A-to yü-yüe (42) die Hauptstadt (43) Kao-tsch'ang beschützen liess, und dass Wang Yen-tê selbst zuerst in Kao-tsch'ang ankam, dann im 7. Monat in Pei-t'ing vom König zur Audienz empfangen und gleich wieder nach dem Staat (44), d.h. Hauptstadt, der Uiguren, d.i. Kao-tsch'ang, zurückgeschickt wurde; zwei Monate später kam auch der König dort an. Der Verfasser bleibt trotz dieses zeitgenössischen Berichtes bei seiner These, dass nur Pei-t'ing allein die Hauptstadt war, und behauptet, dass Wang Yen-tê hinsichtlich der Frage der Hauptstadt falsch berichtet habe, weil er durch die traditionelle, enge Beziehung Kao-tsch'ang's zu China voreingenommen gewesen sei. Er erklärt die Zurückschickung Wang Yen-tê's nach Kao-tsch'ang dahingehend, dass der König einen Zusammenstoss zwischen dem Wang und dem Gesandten der Khi-tan, der zur gleichen Zeit auch in Pei-t'ing weilte, verhindern wollte. Einerseits verneint der Verfasser Wang's Version, dass Pei-t'ing ein Ort der Sommerfrische war, andererseits vermutet er aber, dass Kao-tsch'ang höchstens ein Ort der Überwinterung für den König war.

Das zeitgenössische Ḥudûd al-'Âlam stimmt hinsichtlich der Hauptstadt Jînānjkath (= Kao-tsch'ang) und der Stadt der Sommerfrische Panjikath (= Pei-t'ing) mit Wang Yen-tê's Bericht überein. Auch diesem islamischen Bericht schenkt der Verfasser kein Vertrauen, denn er stamme nicht von den Uiguren selbst. Er meint, wenn, wie bereits erwähnt, bis vor 40 Jahren Kûšân (= Bishbalik) von Mas'ûdî und einige zehn Jahre später Bishbalik von Kâshgharî Hauptstadt war, so könne in der Zwischenzeit keine Veränderung möglich gewesen sein.

Dann stellt der Verfasser Listen der Häufigkeit der Gesandtschaften der West-Uiguren zu den Liao und den Sung auf und ermittelt, dass dabei fast nur die Arslan (= Löwen-König)-Uiguren von den Liao und nur die Kao-tsch'ang- und Kiu-tse (Kucha)-Uiguren von den Sung erwähnt werden. Dies erklärt der Verfasser damit, dass für die Arslan-Uiguren, die in Bishbalik lebten, der Weg zu den Liao durch den nördlichen und für die Kao-tsch'ang- und Kiu-tse-Uiguren der Weg zu den Sung durch den südlichen Hang des T'ien-schan bequemer, sicherer und wirtschaftlicher war. Zudem standen die Arslan-Uiguren mit den Liao in enger Beziehung. Der Verfasser

ist der Meinung, dass die Si-tschou (= Kao-tsch'ang)-Uiguren mit den Arslan-Uiguren identifiziert werden dürfen, wenn man dabei Kao-tsch'ang und Kucha als Territorium der Arslan-Uiguren betrachte, jedoch mit der Feststellung, dass die Hauptstadt der Arslan-Uiguren nicht Kao-tsch'ang, sondern Bishbalik war.

Übrigens datiert der Verfasser die eine Pfahlinschrift von Turfan mit 947 und glaubt, dass der darin erwähnte Il ügäsi (= Titel) Alp tutuγ ügä (= Yü-yüe (45), Ehrenbezeichnung) von dem Souverän Arslan-khan von Bishbalik als Gouverneur von Kao-tsch'ang eingesetzt wurde.

Das Territorium des West-Uiguren-Reiches wird im *6. Kapitel* dargestellt. Um die politischen Verhältnisse zwischen der Bishbalik-Dynastie und der Belasagun-Regierung klarzustellen, wird zuerst die Herkunft der Karachaniden untersucht. Für Karluk halten diese Grigoriev, Lerch, Grenard, und Pritsak, und für Uiguren Bretschneider, Barthold, Haneda Tôru, und Wang Ji-wei. Der Verfasser teilt die Meinung der Letzteren aus den Gründen, dass die Herrschaft des Buku-khan (= Huai-sin) über Zentralasien eine historische Tatsache ist, dass das Territorium des West-Uiguren-Reiches, d.h. der Bishbalik-Dynastie, bis zum 10. Jh. den grössten Teil des Gebietes des Karachaniden-Königreiches umfasste (s. unten), und dass bis zum Ende des 10. Jh. die Karluk auch im Westen die Uiguren-Regierung nicht überwältigten (s. unten).

Das Gebiet des West-Uiguren-Reiches im 9. und 10. Jh. erreichte nach der Inschrift Kao-tsch'ang-wang schi-hün-pei (im Westen) Amu-darya, (im Osten) Tsiu-ts'üan (im Südwesten) Khotän und Kaschghar und (im Süden) Tibet. Diese Angabe wird durch die uigurischen Pfahlinschriften (von Scha-tschou bis Syr-darya) und Mas'ûdî's Bericht (zwischen Khorasan und China) bestätigt. Eine ähnliche Bestätigung findet man im Kao-tsch'ang-hing-ki von Wang Yen-tê: Demnach lag im Süden Khotän, im Südwesten wohnten Araber und Perser, im Westen lagen Indien, Peshawar, der Hindukush, und Ts'ung-ling; unter ihrer Herrschaft standen die Süd- und Nord-T'u-küe, die Gross- und Klein-Tschung-yü (46) (= Tsch'u-yüe (47) = Tsou-kuo (48) = Čigil oder Jikil), Yang-mo (49) (= Yaγma), die Karluk, Kirgisen, Mo-man (50) (= Barman), Ko-to-tsu (51) (= Getae, Geta, Jatah) und die Yü-lung-tsu (52) (= Urungu). Hier lobt der Verfasser die Zuverlässigkeit der Berichterstattung Wang Yen-tê's, obwohl dieser sich geirrt hätte, Kao-tsch'ang als Hauptstadt hinzustellen. Den von Pritsak als Stütze für seine These benutzten Bericht von Ibn al-Faqîh hält der Verfasser für einen Beweis dafür, dass die Westgrenze der Toghuzghuz, d.h. des West-Uigurenreiches über den Amu-Fluss bis Khorasan verlief. Nur die Nordgrenze ist unklar. Vielleicht lief sie bis zum Gebiet der Kirgisen am Yenisei.

Das Territorium des West-Uiguren-Reiches bis zum 10. Jh. umfasste also auch den grössten Teil des Gebietes des späteren Karachanidenreiches. Gegen diejenigen Uigurenforscher, welche die Karachanidendynastie von den Karluk ableiten und die West-Uiguren nur für verdrängte Flüchtlinge halten, und sich somit gegen diese Grossreich-Theorie kehren werden, verteidigt sich der Verfasser wie folgt: Bisher wurde die Beziehung zwischen der Inschrift von Kara-balghasun und der Buku-khan-Sage von ihnen nicht geklärt, und sie glaubten irrtumlich, dass die Uiguren sich vor 860-73 in Turfan und Bishbalik noch nicht endgültig festgesetzt hätten; überdies soll man, sagt der Verfasser, das West-Reich nicht als eine Flüchtlingsregierung, sondern als regelrechten Nachfolger des Erbgutes seit Buku-khan's Zeit betrachten.

Aus den Berichten von Tamīm, Ya'qûbî und den Ḥudûd al-'Âlam folgert der Verfasser, dass die Karluk im 9. und 10. Jh. unter der Herrschaft der Toghuzghuz, d.h. der West-Uiguren standen. Den Machtwechsel von den Ḫâqâniyân auf die Ḫalluḫiyân (= Karluk) in Gardîzî's Bericht will der Verfasser als ein Lokalereignis, eine Machtablösung unter den Stämmen, Anfang des 11. Jh. innerhalb des West-Uiguren-Reiches betrachten; er stellt fest, dass die Ḫalluḫiyân (= Karluk) und die Ḫâqâniyân (= Karachaniden-Dynastie) ganz verschiedene Leute waren, und dass die Ḫâqâniyân, wie das Wort selbst zeigt – die Karachaniden-Herrscher wurden nach Barthold nur

mit Khâḳân (= Khâkânîya) bezeichnet – vom Toghuzghuz-Khagan abstammten. Er ist entschieden gegen Pritsak's Thesen.

Sowohl die Bishbalik-Dynastie zur Yüan-Zeit als auch die Belasagun-Regierung hatten ihren Sagen zufolge den gleichen Urahnen (Afrâsiyâb = Buku-khan). Die Bezeichnung Gubalik für Belasagun stammt weder von den Mongolen noch von den Kara-khitai, sondern sie bedeutet „Stadt der Oghuz", wobei das *gu* dem *hus* (53) des Liao-schi, dem *gus* (54) des Kin-schi und dem *guz* (55) des Yüan-schi entspringt, und *ghuz* eine arabische Form für Oghuz ist; und die Oghuz (= Ghuz) waren die Toghuzghuz (vgl. Minorsky, *Marvazî*, 29).

Was nun die politischen Verhältnisse zwischen Bishbalik und Belasagun anbelangt, so waren die Bishbalik-Uiguren der Hauptstamm, und die Belasagun-Uiguren ein Nebenstamm, der vom Hauptstamm belehnt wurde. Die Karachaniden-Dynastie wurde von dem Stamm Yaghmâ gegründet, der ein Nebenstamm der Toghuzghuz war. Die Wiege der Karachaniden-Dynastie war nicht Kashghar, sondern Belasagun; von dort aus wurde Kashghar erobert. Belasagun wurde auch Quz uluš genannt; dabei meint der Verfasser, dass *uluš* und *ülüš* zwar philologisch unterschiedliche Bedeutungen haben (vgl. Zeki Velidi Togan, A. von Gabain, und C. Brockelmann), aber historisch und wesentlich verwandt sind. Was ursprünglich „Anteil (= *part*) der Stämme im Feudalsystem der Nomaden" zu bezeichnen hatte, bekam später die Bedeutungen wie „Dorf, Land, Reich" hinzu; die Teilung in *uluš* und *ülüš* ist eine spätere Entwicklung. Und so darf man folgern, dass Quz uluš ein Lehnsstaat innerhalb des West-Uiguren-Reiches war. Neben diesem war Qočo uluš das wichtigste Lehn. Ferner trugen die Herrscher der Karachaniden zunächst den Titel *ilek*, dann eigenmächtigerweise den Titel Khan; beide deuten, wie *dihqân*, auf „Lehnsfürsten". Auch dies zeigt die Abhängigkeit der Belasagun-Regierung gegenüber der Bishbalik-Dynastie.

Die Loslösung der Balasagun-, d.h. Karachaniden-Regierung von der Oberherrschaft der Bishbalik-Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung zu einer rivalisierenden Macht erfolgten nach dem Verfasser aus religiösen Gründen. Um 960 bekannte sich die Balasaġun-Regierung zum Islam, während die Bishbalik-Dynastie beim Manichäismus bzw. Buddhismus blieb, aber die Loslösung fand noch nicht sofort, sondern erst seit 1017 statt. In der Zwischenzeit eroberten die Karachaniden im Westen Samarkand und im Süden Khotän. Der Eroberer und Lehnsherr von Khotän, Yūsuf Ḳadr-Khan, wird vom Verfasser mit dem König Hei-han (56) (= Kara-khan) von Khotän, der 1009 den Uiguren Lo-sse-wen (57) (wahrscheinlich Abkürzung für Lo-a-sse-nan sa-wen (58); Lo-a-sse-nan = Arslan = Löwe; Sa-wen < *siang* (59) „Minister" oder < *sängün* „General") zu den Sung entsandte (nach Sung-hui-yao-kao und Sung-schi), identifiziert und als Uigure betrachtet. Auch dieser König hat sich den Khan-Titel eigenmächtig zugelegt. I.J. 1017 wurde die Stadt Kashghar der Balasaġun-Regierung, nach Auslegung des Verfassers, von einer vereinten Armee der andersgläubigen Bishbalik-Uiguren und der Khitan (= Liao) angegriffen. Dieser Zusammenstoss führte zur völligen Trennung der Balasaġun-Regierung von der Bishbalik-Dynastie. Damit endete eine Periode (840-1020), in der die erstere unter der Oberherrschaft der letzteren stand.

Nun soll das Territorium des West-Uiguren-Reiches im engeren Sinne, d.h. der Bishbalik-Dynastie nach der Selbständigkeit der Karachaniden-Regierung in der Zeit von 1020-1280 untersucht werden. Den Kern bildeten nach Kâshgharî in der letzten Hälfte des 11. Jh. Sulmy (= So-li-mi (60) in Yüan-schi = Barköl), Qûjû (= Kao-tsch'ang), Ğanbaliq (= Tschang-pa-li (61) in King-schi ta-tien-t'u = Tsch'ang-pa-li (62), Ts'ao-pa-li (63) in Yüan-schi = jetzigem Tsch'ang-ki-hien (64)), Bišbaliq und Yankibaliq (= Yang-ki-pa-li (65) in King-schi ta-tien-t'u, am Ostufer des Manas-Flusses). Die Westgrenze verlief am Cherchen (dem Islamkreis zugehörig), bei Kucha (Zugehörigkeit wechselnd) und an der Ala-tagh und I-li Linie; die Nordostgrenze am Ötukän,

nämlich an der Westgrenze der Liao; und die Südostgrenze an Scha-tschou (bis zur Mitte des 11. Jh. unter der Oberherrschaft des West-Uiguren-Reiches und dann unter der der Si-hia (66)).

Das Liao-schi berichtet, dass Ye-lü Ta-schi 1122 im Westen die Burg K'o-tun (= Khatun) erreichte und im Pei-t'ing Tu-hu-fu stationiert war. Dabei hält der Verfasser die Stationierung in Pei-t'ing (= Bishbalik) für eine Verwechslung mit der in An-pei Tu-hu-fu durch die Geschichtschreiber, und lokalisiert das An-pei Tu-hu-fu und die Khatun-Burg nicht am Etzingol, sondern in Tschen-tschou (67) der Liao, am Orchon. Er folgert aus den Berichten von Juwaynî und Rashîd al-Dîn, dass Ye-lü Ta-schi's Armee nicht durch Bishbalik, sondern entlang der Nordroute, d.h. der Nordostgrenze des West-Uiguren-Reiches im engeren Sinne, an den Emil kam, Balasaġun eroberte und vermutlich erst nach 1131 Bishbalik unter ihre Oberherrschaft brachte.

Die Grenzlinien der Bishbalik-Dynastie nach der Aufgabe der Selbständigkeit im 12. und 13. Jh. verliefen im Westen: zwischen Cherchen (nach Ssê-tung-lei-kao (68) von Lu Yüan-k'uei (69) der Yüan-Zeit unter Bishbalik-Herrschaft) und Keriya sowie bei Kucha (unter der Bishbalik-Herrschaft); im Nordwesten: bei Almaligh, Kuldja (nach dem Si-yu-ki des Tsch'ang-tsch'un-tschen-jen) und am Emil; im Südosten: Scha-tschou und Kua-tschou (vermutlich nach wie vor in den Händen der Tanguten); im Osten: Kamul (nach dem Yüan-schi 202 ein Lehnsstaat der Bishbalik-Dynastie) und im Nordosten und Norden: am Altai, Kara-Irtish und Emil.

Im *7. Kapitel* wird die Lage von Bishbalik geschildert. Bishbalik blieb bis zur Verlegung nach Kao-tsch'ang i.J. 1270 viereinhalb Jahrhunderte lang ohne Unterbrechung die Hauptstadt des West-Uiguren-Reiches. Der Verfasser ist gegen die Identifizierungen von Bishbalik mit Urumtši durch Klaproth, mit Karašahr durch Schao Yüan-p'ing (70) in Sü-hung-kien-lu (71), mit K'i-t'ai (72) durch Grumm-Grjimailo, mit Jimasa durch Sü Sung (73) in Si-yü schui-tao-ki (74) und mit Fu-k'ang-hien (75) durch Yü Hao (76) in Si-yü k'ao-ku-lu (77), er lokalisiert Bishbalik hinsichtlich der Herkunft des Namen in Ku-tsch'eng < Kûshang < Kûšân < Wu-tsch'eng. Der Name Bishbalik deutet wahrscheinlich darauf hin, dass die Stadt in fünf Wohn-Viertel geteilt war. Er untersucht ferner sehr eingehend die Längen (in li) der nach Bishbalik bzw. Ku-tsch'eng führenden Wegstrecken, um durch die Übereinstimmung der Entfernungen seine Identifizierung: Bishbalik = Ku-tsch'eng zu bekräftigen. Die Ergebnisse werden mittels einer übersichtlichen Kartenskizze dargestellt.

Der Verfasser schliesst sein Buch mit dem Kapitel über die Bedeutung des West-Uiguren-Reiches im Ost-West-Verkehr. Dabei hebt er, wie Klaproth, F. W. K. Müller, und Haneda Tôru, die Fähigkeit der West-Uiguren zur Kultursynthese hervor. Die in Turfan ausgegrabenen uigurischen Urkunden (nach Haneda Akira's Übersetzung), insbesondere die rechtlichen, zeigen das hochentwickelte Wirtschaftsleben der West-Uiguren eindeutig. Durch seine Untersuchungen hofft der Verfasser, der Forschung der mittelalterlichen Beziehungen zwischen Ost und West neue Gesichtspunkte geben zu können.

Das vorliegende Buch, das in einem sehr lebendigen, humorvollen und allegoriereichen Stil geschrieben ist, stellt einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Geschichte Zentralasiens dar. Die Asienforscher werden dem Verfasser für seine Zusammenstellung der Quellen und seine neuen Standpunkte dankbar sein. Nur könnte man leicht den Eindruck gewinnen, dass bei der Klärung der zahllosen durch die Quellen bedingten Unklarheiten der Verfasser allzu oft und allzu leicht Hypothesen ausspricht, so dass seine Thesen manchmal nicht überzeugend wirken. Wie er selbst wörtlich im Anhang auf S. 7 sagt, musste er für die Klärung mancher Punkte einen „schöpferischen Nachschlüssel" gebrauchen. Dies sind aber solche Punkte, die für seine Thesen entscheidend sind. Im ganzen möchte man fast sagen, dass es ein ziemlich gewagtes Unterfangen ist, mit den lückenhaften, dürftigen Quellen die lange, kontinuierliche Existenz eines grossen Reiches der West-Uiguren mit der Zentrale in Bishbalik nachweisen zu wollen.

(1) 五城
(2) 丁零
(3) 狄歷
(4) 勑勒
(5) 鐵勒
(6) 突厥
(7) 高車
(8) 韋紇
(9) 袁紇
(10) 烏護
(11) 行尚書省
(12) 火赤哈兒
(13) 野里麻里
(14) 按察司
(15) 都護府
(16) 宣慰司
(17) 禿古滅
(18) 永昌
(19) 高昌王府
(20) 浮圖川
(21) 蒲類縣
(22) 庭州
(23) 懷信
(24) 回紇
(25) 回鶻
(26) 裴羅將軍城
(27) 昭禮
(28) 保義
(29) 烏介
(30) 王日蔚
(31) 龐特勒
(32) 特龐勒
(33) 乙庬歷
(34) 畏兀兒
(35) 長春眞人
(36) 大城
(37) 高昌王世勳碑
(38) 高昌偰氏家傳
(39) 元統元年進士錄
(40) 古城
(41) 王延德
(42) 阿多于越
(43) 國城
(44) 國
(45) 于越
(46) 衆熨
(47) 處月
(48) 鄒括
(49) 樣磨
(50) 末蠻
(51) 格多族
(52) 豫龍族
(53) 虎思
(54) 骨斯
(55) 谷則
(56) 黑韓
(57) 羅斯温
(58) 羅阿斯難撒温
(59) 相
(60) 唆里迷
(61) 彰八里
(62) 昌八里
(63) 操八里
(64) 昌吉縣
(65) 仰吉八里
(66) 西夏

(67) 鎮州 (71) 續弘簡錄 (75) 阜康縣

(68) 穡東類稿 (72) 奇台 (76) 俞浩

(69) 陸元奎 (73) 徐松 (77) 西域考古錄

(70) 邵遠平 (74) 西域水道記

Göttingen. Liu Mau-Tsai.

Herbert Härtel, *Karmavācanā*. Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden herausgegeben ... von Ernst Waldschmidt, III. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 30). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1956. 172 pp. DM 39.—.

Among the manuscript fragments of the Turfan collection in Berlin there are some hundred containing pieces of formulas used in the Buddhist Order. Most of these fragments were found in Kyzil, some of them in other places. They are also of different date. The writing shows at least two forms of the Brāhmī alphabet, which Lüders[1] has attributed to the 5th and 7th century A.D. respectively.

Mr. Härtel has published the text of the formulas as it is found in the Turfan fragments (pp. 25-49), and tried to restore the complete formulas as far as possible. By comparing different manuscripts of the same text and by making use of the parallel texts, especially those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (in the Gilgit Manuscripts) and of the Sarvāstivādins (in the Chinese translation), he has succeeded to a great extent.

Some of the formulas were used for declarations or vows of a single person (either monk or layman) before the Order or one *bhikṣu*, but most were made for the proceedings in parishes of the Order (*saṅghakarman*). The restored formulas of both kinds have been grouped by Mr. Härtel – in accordance with the chapters of the Vinaya – under the following headings: (A) formulas for laymen, (B) ordination (*pravrajyā* and *upasaṃpadā*), (C) the periodical confession (*poṣatha*), (D) the ceremony at the end of the rainy season called "invitation" (*prāvaraṇā*), (E) the taking of a fixed residence during the rainy season (*varṣopagamana*), (F) formulas from various chapters (Cīvaravastu, Kaṭhinavastu, Śayanāsanavastu and Adhikaraṇavastu).

Throughout it is shown how the formulas fit in in the proceedings. In the chapter on the ordination, for which the manuscript material is very scanty, Mr. Härtel even gives a complete survey of the ordination in its different stages of development, especially of the form it acquired in the school of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. To thist he Turfan manuscript remains are compared, and they appear to have a shorter form in general.

An undoubtedly Mūlasarvāstivādin formula is found only once; it is from the Kaṭhinavastu.

Groningen J. Ensink

[1] See his *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans* (SBAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1922, pp. 243-261 *Philologica Indica*, pp. 526-546), where three of the fragments are reproduced.

Pavel Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal, Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Erklärung*, Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Prag, 1956. 248 pages in 8°, with illustrations and a map.

The *Secret History* has not yet been thoroughly studied as a literary and historical work. Professor Poucha partly fills this gap with his interesting book. It is divided into the following chapters: 1. Introduction (pp. 7–48), 2. Ancient Mongolian Names (pp. 49–101), 3. Genealogy of Chingis Khan (pp. 102–109), 4. Mongolian Military Organization and Warfare (pp. 110–145), 5. Ordinary Life, Social Structure, and the Beginnings of Steppe Feudalism (pp. 146–165), and 6. Mongolian Culture (pp. 166–191). Appendices, a German and a Russian *résumé*, indices, and a map conclude this publication.

The author points out in the Introduction that the importance of the *Secret History* lies in its being a detailed picture of Mongolian life seven hundred years ago. Although it contains little new historical data, it presents a surprisingly clear picture of Mongolian society in the 13 th century, its material and spiritual culture, and presents ideas by which that society lived. Thus, the *Secret History* is clearly divided into two parts, *viz.*, a historical and a literary part.

On pp. 15–16 a useful survey of identical portions from the *Secret History* and Rašīd ad-Dīn's *J̌āmi' at-tawārīkh* is given. As it might be expected in advance, Rašīd ad-Dīn's work contains much more historical data, but on the other hand, Poucha correctly remarks that the *Secret History* is in some aspects much closer to the truth than some other sources (p. 38). It is difficult to say whether the *Secret History* is politically biased as the author believes. It is possible, of course, that the genealogies given there are distorted, although I would not suspect them of being *deliberately* distorted or, to put it bluntly, faked. I do not doubt that they contain fantastic elements, but the evaluation of such legendary or semi-legendary genealogies of the distant past should be different from that of forgery of political documents in our era of dishonesty.

Both in the Introduction and in other parts of the book numerous names and words are explained. Some of the explanations given require correction. Thus, *märgän* (*mergen*) following a proper name is not "wise" but "marksman" (p. 39). Vladimirtsov demonstrated long ago that *mergen* was an ancient title. Mongolian *γaqai jil* is, contrary to Poucha, to be translated the "hog year" and not "sow year" (p. 9). As a matter of fact, the feminine form *čaγaγčin* "white" can be applied to the name of any animal (if it is a female) and not only to *γaqai*. The etymology of the word *budaγan* "pap, porridge" as derived from the same root as *budang* "fog" (p. 41, note 51) is doubtful. On the other hand, the name *Bodončar* is probably derived from *bodong* "boar" and not *bodo* "a head of cattle" as Poucha believes (p. 42).

At the beginning of the second chapter the Mongolian titles (*baγatur*, *bayan*, *beki*, etc.) are analyzed (p. 49). Most of them present no difficulty. As for the name *Qabiči* (cf. also *Qabuči* and *Qabutu*), it is derived from *qabu* "marksmanship, ability to hit the mark, good shooting" and not from the word for crayfish (p. 49).

This is followed by a useful survey of ancient names of clans, tribes, and nations (pp. 56 ff.). Like those in other languages, most of these names have no satisfactory etymologies. A section on personal names, both female and male follows (pp. 82 ff.). This part of the book is important, because it presents well systematized material.

Finally, a survey of geographic names mentioned in the *Secret History* is given (pp. 95 ff.).

Bypassing the third chapter (Genealogy of Chingis Khan), it should be remarked that the next chapter deals with the Mongolian army. In it the organization of the army of Chingis Khan is discussed in detail and additional data from Marco Polo and other sources is given. However, the most interesting chapter for the undersigned is Chapter

Five in which the old Mongolian way of living is paistakingly reconstructed: cattle husbandry, hunting, food, social groups and social organization, and the structure of the state. The society described in this chapter is characterized by the author as an early form of "steppe feudalism", a term applied in Mongolian studies for the first time by Vladimirtsov. It is a transitional form of society characterized by the decomposition of the original tribal system and the acquisition of some feudal features. According to Wittfogel's terminology, this is a typical marginal society.

The last chapter is devoted to culture in the wider sense, i.e., to dwellings, means of communication, festivals, and religion. The discussion of religious beliefs is particularly interesting, because there previously was no more or less detailed survey of ancient Mongolian religious practices. This chapter is concluded with remarks on literary activities at that time and on the presumed author of the *Secret History*, Šigi Qutuqu.

To conclude this review, it should be remarked that this interesting book will certainly prove helpful to further research.

Seattle Nicholas Poppe

Л. С. Пушковский, Монгольские, бурят-монгольские и ойратские рукописи и ксилографы Института Востоковедения, I: История, право, Академия Наук СССР, Институт Востоковедения. Издательство Академии Наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1957. [L. S. Puchkovskii, *The Mongolian, Buriat-Mongolian, and Oirat Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Oriental Studies*, I: *History and Law*. Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of Oriental Studies. The Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1957.] 276 pages in 8°, 11 illustrations.

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the former Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, possesses one of the largest collections of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs, which is rivalled only by the collections of the Learned Research Committee of the Mongolian People's Republic in Ulanbator. The Leningrad collection unfortunately remained little known and almost inaccessible to most of the scholars, because there existed only brief and incomplete catalogues of some portions of that collection. With the exception of some historical manuscripts described by Ts. Zhamtsarano, the shamanist manuscripts described by me, and some other materials, there were practically no detailed descriptions of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs belonging to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The book under review is excellent and important in many aspects. Puchkovskii has been the custodian of Mongolian books at the Institute of Oriental Studies for more than twenty years, in the course of which he acquired a very profound knowledge of the material and became one of the best connoisseurs of Mongolian manuscripts in the whole world.

Puchkovskii's book is devoted exclusively to historical and legal materials. It contains detailed discussions of 27 Mongolian, 12 Buriat-Mongolian, and 4 Oirat historical works. As far as I can judge, this list seems to be rather complete. I do not find in it, however, the historical work *Abatai qaγan-u teüke* "The History of Abatai Khan", which is also called *Erdeni juu-yin namtar* "History of Erdeni Juu" or *Qalq-a oron-a burqan-u šajin angq-a delgeregsen-ü teüke* "The History of the Initial Spread of Buddhism in Khalkha", of which several copies exist, and one of which was brought by

me from the Orkhon region in 1926. It is posible, however, that this work will be discussed together with Buddhist works such as biographies of saints etc. in one of the following volumes of Puchkovskii's description.

The historical part is followed by manuscripts and documents referring to law and administration. Here the work *Čaγan teüke* "The White Chronicle" is discussed (pp. 149-152), which is partly a historical work, various copies of the Khalkha law codex *Qalq-a ǰirum*, etc. In toto, Puchkovskii has described 272 units of historical works, legal documents and papers referring to administration.

Puchkovskii has thoroughly exhausted the existing literature and given detailed and reliable descriptions. His book will undoubtedly be accepted by all Mongolists with great satisfaction, because it is a description of a considerable portion of one of the largest Mongolian collections in the world. It will certainly serve as a basis for the compilation of certain chapters of the history of Mongolian literature which all of us need urgently.

Seattle, Wash. Nicholas Poppe

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